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A series of seminars for Los Angeles school superintendents was held in 1967 and was addressed by various experts. The purpose of the project was to seek possible solutions to problems of desegregated large-city schools. Summarized are the following discussion sessions: (1) Robert J. Havighurst, "The Integration Crisis"; (2) Julian Samora, "The Spanish Speaking People in the United States"; (3) Gordon Klopf, "Developing School Staffs"; (4) Ernesto Galarza, "Schools Faced with Multiplicity of Leadership"; and (5) James Farmer, "School Administration in the Negro Ghetto." (NH)

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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ADMINISTRATOR'S IN-DEPTH SEMINARS IN PROBLEMS OF DESEGREGATION AS THEY RELATE TO LARGE CITY SCHOOLS

SUMMARIES OF SEMINAR DISCUSSIONS

Dr. Robert J. Havighurst
Dr. Julian Samora
Dr. Gordon Klopf
Dr. Ernesto Galarza
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Los Angeles City Schools
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Office of Urban Affairs

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Foreword

The purpose of this project was to find possible solutions to problems of school administration unique to the desegregated school situation in large city schools.

The U. S. Office of Education defines problems incident to desegregation as "those problems arising from the assignment of students to and within public schools without regard to difference in the race, color, religion, or national origin; other than problems uniquely related to the assignment of students to public schools in order to overcome racial imbalance."

Our purpose was achieved by bringing to the Los Angeles City School Districts' superintendents, viewpoints of recognized national authorities who have made in-depth studies of the problems of desegregation as they relate to the large city schools.

The project program was a series of seminars each conducted by a national authority on the problems of desegregation.

During the summer months, because superintendents were able to leave the City of Los Angeles, three seminars were conducted at Garden Grove, California, (24 miles away from Los Angeles), on Friday afternoon and evening and Saturday morning.

During the winter months, two seminars were held in Los Angeles on Thursday evening and Friday morning.

In addition to the small discussion groups for superintendents, selected school administrators, junior college presidents, curriculum supervisors, and the staff of the Office of Urban Affairs met with each consultant.

Also, prior to each seminar, selected members of the Office of Urban Affairs' staff and the members of the Specially Funded Programs' staff met with the consultant in a briefing session related to the topic of the seminar.

Seminars were held as follows:

July 7-8, 1967	Dr. Robert J. Havighurst, University of Chicago, "The Integration Crisis"
July 28-29, 1967	Dr. Julian Samora, University of Notre Dame, "The Spanish-Speaking People In The United States"
August 4-5, 1967	Dr. Gordon Klopf, Banks Street College, "Developing School Staffs"
October 19-20, 1967	Dr. Ernesto Galarza, Writer and Lecturer, "Schools Faced With Multiplicity Of Leadership"
November 2-3, 1967	Mr. James Farmer, Lincoln University, "School Administration In The Negro Ghetto"

Evaluation of each seminar's discussion periods was conducted by the Research and Development Section, Los Angeles City School District.

The Los Angeles City School Districts expresses its gratitude to each of the consultants who have allowed their remarks to be a part of this publication.

The development of the program activities reported herein was supported by a grant from the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Education.

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Editor's Note

Thanks is expressed to the participants for authorizing these edited remarks to appear in this volume. Since each of the gentlemen spoke to four or five different groups, there appeared considerable redundance in the transcripts of both questions and responses. Hence in editing, it was necessary to provide a synthesis of each. In every case, however, the participants' own words are presented; although, sometimes tied together with connecting phrases.

The educator, sociologist, or historian should note the dates when each seminar was held, so that he might gauge the nature of the questions and responses in light of the events which occurred during the "Long, hot summer" of 1967.

E. O. V.

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Administrator's In-Depth Seminars In Problems Of Desegregation As They Relate To Large City Schools

Los Angeles City School Districts

SEMINAR NO. 1: THE INTEGRATION CRISIS

The following is a summary of the discussion periods of Seminar No. 1 conducted for the superintendents of the Los Angeles City School Districts on July 7 and 8, 1967, by Dr. Robert J. Havighurst, Professor of Education, University of Chicago. In addition to the summary, the paper, The Crisis For Integration In American Education is included.

Q. DR. HAVIGHURST, HOW DOES ONE GAUGE WHEN A COMMUNITY IS READY TO GO FORWARD WITH INTEGRATION, AND IF THEY ARE READY, HOW DOES ONE PROCEED?

A. Drastic changes to provide integration in the schools in a short period of time should be avoided as non-feasible; although, if the schools work at it and put money into bussing, a large number of students could go to integrated schools now. However, this could tend to tear apart the community. A better approach would be to work with the local communities of the cities in terms of their different degrees of readiness for integration. No particular step should be put into effect until the parents have had a chance to study it. Movement should be slow and not before the parents fully understand the objectives. This way, the step would not be too drastic and the proportion of minority students would not go up substantially in any given period of time. A move to get another 10 or 15 percent of minority students into integrated schools is not too drastic.

Q. A MAJOR AREA OF OUR CONCERN IS THE NEIGHBORHOOD IN TRANSITION. HOW WOULD

YOU APPROACH THE STABILIZATION OF SUCH AREAS?

A. It is impossible to stabilize all transitional areas here in Los Angeles. The ghetto population is about 800,000 and it is expected to increase at the rate of 30 or 40 percent in the next eight years. This will create a moving ghetto with little to stop movement around the edges. As these edges expand, there will be more and more transition areas. Some areas around the perimeter of the ghetto could be stabilized. The growth of a ghetto can go in one direction or another. The forces that cause this are very complex. Stabilization is possible if the neighborhood adjacent to the ghetto wants it and is willing to help. Areas should be picked that can be stabilized; then others will become available for stabilizing. Integration should be regarded as a metropolitan problem in which the suburbs cooperate with the central city. Districts contiguous to the Los Angeles City School District should participate in a plan for stabilizing areas that lie partly in each district. It is currently possible to go to work on three or four areas which are not set on the edge of the school district. If these neighborhoods are stabilized, they will lose their sharp boundaries, and internal successes would relieve pressures. In places where the thrust is not so great, work can be done in the community and if it can be shown that stabilization has been successful, it can be considered a major victory.

It is not necessary to wait to start this program. An existing building can be used. Success would depend on the staff. Every big city should have a staff of eight or ten people who understand how the people live, select their homes, etc., who are in areas that border the ghetto. There is no possibility of moving white families into the middle of the ghetto. You can only bus youngsters out of the ghetto. Educational resources should be lavished on the least privileged part of the city.

Q. WHERE A DISTRICT IS TAKING PRELIMINARY OR EXPERIMENTAL STEPS IN THE AREA OF DESEGREGATION, HOW DOES IT DEFEND ITSELF AGAINST A CRY OF TOKENISM?

A. Collect data to show the increasing amount of integration that is measurable. Chart the data to show that at this date, we had this much segregation, now at this date we have increased integration by this amount. This chart would point out that the District has a definite program designed to eliminate segregation in the schools.

Q. DR. HAVIGHURST, THERE ARE THOSE WHO FEEL WE SHOULD TREAT WITH SOCIAL CLASS, RATHER THAN MAKING RACE THE MAJOR THRUST. WOULD YOU COMMENT?

A. In the long run (50 years from now) we will be dealing explicitly with the major domestic problem of trying to reduce economic or social class segregation. This is the basic problem in a modern commercial-industrial society. However, we have the more immediate problem of racial segregation. This is also partially a matter of social class segregation, and as we solve this problem we will be moving in on the problem of socioeconomic segregation.

The main reason for our concern about both socioeconomic and racial segregation, is that we believe that these forms of segregation tend to divide and destroy our democratic social institutions. Of course we recognize a certain amount of segregation, particularly by religion, but this is not at present a divisive influence in our society.

I believe that the problem of racial segregation should be attacked right now even if it is done at the expense of toleration of some economic segregation. Thus we may work toward integration of Negro and white middle class students--which is the easiest form of racial integration to achieve.

We recognize that we are postponing the attack on economic segregation when we move in this direction. Once we have achieved racial integration, we can then move more vigorously into economic integration; that is, toward bringing youth of all family income levels into the same schools.

One way of promoting racial integration, together with a limited amount of social class integration, is to maintain a system of quasi-selective model high schools located throughout the city and without definite attendance areas. If these schools admitted only pupils who were no more than one year retarded in reading level, they would tend to draw middle class youth (both Negro and white) with a sprinkling of youth from lower class families. Then every elementary school in the neighborhood of a model high school should have a remedial program that helps youngsters bring up their reading level. You can see that this kind of program would meet a good deal of resistance from some people in the Negro community because it would clearly leave out a substantial group of Negro youth who are retarded in reading ability and who would generally have to attend segregated Negro schools.

This is an example of the complexity of the problem of moving toward racial integration in a way that would receive support from middle class white and Negro elements. It would have to be accompanied by thorough--going efforts to improve the programs of the non-selective schools, together with an earnest promise that integrated schools will be made available to all Negro youth when they reach an academic level that would permit them to achieve reasonably well in such schools. In a city like Los Angeles with other disadvantaged minorities, there are a lot of problems that you can visualize more clearly than I in this kind of program.

Q. WHAT WOULD BE THE MOST PROFITABLE WAY IN WHICH STAFF CAN WORK ON THE

PROBLEMS CREATED BY DE FACTO SEGREGATION?

A. An intense issue not under pressure for decision gets put aside and not worked out. Work out solutions carefully with a definite Board policy statement drawn up. Have at least one meeting a month just devoted to policy considerations. Hold seminars and bring in consultants and advisors from time to time. There is an advantage to having an outside voice. Keep working toward a rational policy that keeps evolving while treating current problems. Work on the job of providing reasonable choices for the school board. It is not necessary to line up with demands of the ghetto, to the exclusion of improving education elsewhere. One area should not be starved to help another.

Q. A CONTINUING PROBLEM HAS TO DO WITH TEACHER ASSIGNMENT POLICIES. HERE WE ARE CAUGHT UP IN DISTRICT POLICY, COMMUNITY PRESSURES, AND DEMANDS OF ORGANIZED AND UNORGANIZED TEACHERS. HOW DO YOU SEE THIS PROBLEM?

A. There should be a relating of teachers to the types of schools in which they teach. Personality of the teacher is the main thing here. Teachers could be divided according to their social class background, but this might reveal two types of teachers with a working-class background. One would understand the background and use it constructively, while the other might be punitive and consider these children lazy because they do not want to get out of this environment. One might be too easy; the other too hard. It might be that teachers could be given some try-out experience to find out where they can best teach.

Although the school system is under pressure to adopt a simple policy, the right teacher must be in the right place. Merit is partly experience and partly hard work. Racial discrimination in selection of teachers must be stopped. That practice is not considered to exist in the west as it does in other parts of the country. Schools must hold to the line of intelligent assignment of teachers; giving them choice, but with the aim of maximizing the integration of faculty.

The schools must not give in to pressures which demand a Negro principal for a Negro school or a Mexican for a Mexican school. The assignment practice should be based on the quality of the principal best fitted to the job, with some privilege related to seniority.

An ideal plan would be to have every school staffed by a cross section of teachers by skin color and sex and age. The idea must be discussed with the people first - not just announced. Discussion at a bargaining table helps.

Q. WOULDN'T THIS TYPE OF PROCEDURE BE COUNTER TO THE MERIT SYSTEM FOUND IN MOST LARGE SCHOOL DISTRICTS?

A. The merit system tends to emphasize professional competency. Movement must be made toward getting teachers assigned where they would be reasonably satisfied. Because of driving distances in Los Angeles, it costs more to get to work in some districts. It may be necessary to increase teacher salaries and services to teachers in some difficult districts.

A study in Chicago showed that money was not a major factor with women, but it was with men. Teachers would like class size reduced and get more teacher aides. Some recognition should be given for transferring into these districts. Financial aid is not the only answer.

Q. WOULD YOU SPEAK ABOUT WHAT IS GOING FORWARD IN THE FIELD OF NON-STANDARD ENGLISH?

A. I suppose you are referring to the research on social class differences in language usage. This very important area of research has been developed in England and in the USA. It shows that the average slum family, regardless of race, uses a very limited or "restricted" language. The sentences are short and simple, the vocabulary is limited, and the ideas are simplified. Thus, a child, aged 3 to 5, is thoroughly handicapped in his mental development because his mind is feeding on the language used in the family and this language is extremely limited. In contrast, the average middle class family used a more "elaborate" language. The vacabulary is much greater, sentences more complex, and there is more answering of children's questions. In general, the enviornment is much better for mental growth through language growth. Clearly, our society, through the schools, must make some effort to compensate for the limited language experience of lower class children and this probably will have to be done through an extensive program of pre-school classes.

Q. HOW WOULD THIS WORK IF THE NEGRO CHILD ONLY HEARS LIMITED ENGLISH AT HOME?

A. This would work with the lower class child as it would work with children of the lower class of any racial group. Their parents operate at a restricted language level themselves. To some extent it is possible to help the parents improve their own language ability, but obviously such a program will be severely limited. It is possible to bring some of the mothers into pre-school classes as teacher-aides and thus to help them to learn how to teach their own children better.

Q. ARE THERE OTHER APPROACHES TO THE NON-STANDARD ENGLISH PROBLEM?

A. There have been some experiments with total environment change. Perhaps an experiment should be made with 24 hour schools in the slums of our big cities. There are American observers who feel that those schools which take a child at age 3 and maintain him completely are doing a humane job by keeping him in school. Parents visit them at any time but the family does not determine the language environment.

Experiments should be made with a longer school day permitting greater control over the child's mental development by the school environment. These experiments could be started now and go for a period of 10 years. It might turn out to be the right solution for children in the slums.

Q. WOULD MORE HEAD START PROGRAMS HELP WITH THE NON-STANDARD ENGLISH PROBLEM?

A. Head Start has been too much too soon. No one could object to spending the money on poor children - hundreds of millions of dollars have been spent, and we still do not know how to raise the level of the children's I.Q.'s.

Q. DR. HAVIGHURST, OVER THE PAST FEW YEARS WE HAVE FELT MORE AND MORE PRESSED BY COMMUNITY FORCES THAT SEEMED TO WANT TO DICTATE POLICY TO THE SCHOOLS.

A. This is clearly the case, and it is a part of the vast social movement through which lower working class people are hoping to better themselves and their children. Rightly or wrongly, many of the leaders of this group have come to the conclusion that school policies are being made by middle class people to serve middle class children without much attention to the needs of children from lower class families. Consequently, they are asking for a voice in the determination of school policy, in the choices of school principals and teachers, etc. I think we are in for a period of at least five years of these efforts, and the sensible thing is for the school administration to work cooperatively but firmly with these groups. School administrators should make every effort to understand the problems and to put themselves in the position of parents whose children are not doing well in school. School administrators must win the confidence of these people through a combination of understanding, firmness, and commitment to the welfare and progress of lower class children through the schools. I believe that school administrators can learn to work with local community leaders in such a way that both groups come to trust each other and to cooperate effectively. As this comes about the local community will be more and more content to leave decisions on technical and professional questions to the professional leaders.

Q. IS IT A GOOD THING TO HAVE NON-PROFESSIONALS WORKING WITH THE SCHOOLS ON A POLICY MAKING LEVEL?

A. Schools need some kind of Education Council. An advisory group should be formed of people who have the time and who can represent the school to the community in order to have community forces on the side of the schools. It is up to the school board, as non-professionals, to decide on the right advisory committee.

Q. IN LOS ANGELES, WE HAVE THREE CITIZENS' COMPENSATORY EDUCATION ADVISEMENT COMMITTEES. MEMBERS OF ONE OF THESE COMMITTEES HAVE INDICATED THAT THEY BELIEVE THEY SHOULD BE PAID FOR ATTENDING MEETINGS. DOES THIS SEEM RIGHT?

A. They should not be paid. Committee members should know this is the role of a citizen.

Q. DR. HAVIGHURST, HOW DO YOU VIEW THE OVERALL URBAN PATTERN AS IT IS LIKELY TO EMERGE?

A. Theorists agree that the urban renewal pattern should be one that consists of units of about 300,000 people, with recreation, education, jobs, and housing within the unit. This seems to be the pattern of city planning groups. Money that now goes into a simple war on poverty will go into a major effort of re-making the city. Federal planning groups will insist that the metropolitan and city school groups learn to work together. The big city is going to be a city of community units that are fairly similar. The community unit will be more of a cross section than it is now.

THANK YOU, DR. HAVIGHURST.

The following is additional material prepared by
Dr. Robert J. Havighurst

THE CRISIS FOR INTEGRATION IN AMERICAN EDUCATION

American education is in danger of becoming a battleground over which a war will be fought between forces that ought to be cooperating instead of fighting. The two groups are disagreed over the strategy of increasing integration for the minority non-white group.

There is agreement among a wide and powerful section of American citizens that racial integration in the schools and colleges is important and desirable:

a. For the benefit it will bring to non-white pupils;

b. For the sake of improving a democratic society.

But integration in the schools is impossible for more than a fraction of Negro boys and girls under present circumstances in the major cities of the United States because Negroes are havily concentrated in large segregated residential areas in large cities.

It will take years for open occupancy campaigns and related movements to produce integrated residential areas on a broad scale. Meanwhile there are interesting and useful token experiments in getting a few Negro pupils from the ghettos into predominantly white schools, but these are extremely limited in the numbers they can serve. The 1967 Report of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission on Racial Isolation in the Public Schools sums up the facts on the degree of integration to show that the proportion of Negro children attending predominantly Negro schools has not changed substantially in the last ten years.

No Negro-led group and no liberal mixed racial group has offered a program that is likely to change this situation materially in the next ten years. There has been a limited espousal of "the educational park" concept, but this, as we shall see, offers little promise of results during the next ten years.

Where Progress Has Been Made

Substantial integration has been achieved in towns and small-to-medium cities with a minority of no more than 15 or 20 percent of Negro pupils. Here, if there was once a segregated Negro school, it has generally been abandoned and the Negro pupils have been distributed among surrounding schools. The limit to this procedure is reached when a racial ghetto is large enough to contain 1000 to 1500 Negro school children; at which point they become too numerous to distribute as minority groups among surrounding schools. An example of this limit is Evanston, Illinois, where about 15 percent of the elementary school children are Negroes. They have been taken out of a previously all-Negro school and distributed among other schools so that no school has more than 20 percent Negro pupils. Bus transportation is provided for those who live beyond a certain distance from their new school. If Evanston were a city of 150,000 rather than 80,000, with a residentially segregated population, it would be quite difficult to distribute a 15 percent minority of Negro pupils among integrated schools in ways that would be satisfactory to Negro and white parents.

Little more than token integration has been accomplished in the South, though this, in itself, may represent more change of attitude and more progress with the basic problem than has been made in the large Northern and Western cities.

In the large cities of the North, West and Border States, there is generally one or more large Negro ghettos with 5,000 to 300,000 Negro public school students. The purpose of this essay is to discuss the problem of integration in such cities.

Approaches to Integration in Large Cities: Methods and Results

There are six ways of increasing integration in large cities.

1. Open enrollment with or without free transportation. Nearly all cities have tried some form of open enrollment plan. For instance, Baltimore started an open enrollment plan immediately after its schools were officially desegregated in 1954. All schools that were not overcrowded were declared open to pupils regardless of their residence. Those living in the school's attendance area were given priority, and the school's enrollment could then be filled by volunteers under the open enrollment scheme. The Board of Education did not provide free transportation. New York City established an open enrollment plan with free bus transportation of children who went more than a minimum distance to attend the school of their choice. Detroit has had a limited program of "permissive transfer." Chicago started such a plan in 1964 with small numbers taking part, and very little official encouragement by school administrators. Then, in 1966, a more positive school policy was announced with the result that over a thousand Negro high school students transferred from all-Negro schools to schools with over 90 percent white enrollments.

This policy has resulted in the movement of between 1 and 6 percent of Negro students into predominantly white schools. In New York, with free transportation and a promotional program by civil rights organizations, the figure of 6 percent was reached. In the other cities, no more than 2 percent of Negro students have taken advantage of open enrollment.

2. Bussing Negro pupils to predominantly white schools. There are two quite different forms taken by this general procedure. The first form has integration as its goal. For example, the West Irondequoit school district,

in a suburb outside of Rochester, has been receiving Negro pupils from the Rochester inner city, whose transportation and tuition are paid by the Rochester Board of Education. A total of 300 elementary school pupils from Rochester will be taught in the predominantly white school of West Irondequoit when the plan is in full operation. Something similar is done by the West Hartford Schools, which receive Negro children from the Hartford School District. An alternative plan is that in Boston, where a number of Negro parents have banded together and raised money to transport their children to outlying schools under an open enrollment policy of the Boston Public Schools.

The second form of bussing plan has the relief of overcrowding as its goal. Children are transported by a school system from their own crowded neighborhood to more distant schools which have empty seats. Under present conditions, this generally results in the bussing of Negro pupils to predominantly white schools. For example, Kansas City, Missouri, has for several years transported approximately 1,500 children from grades 1-6 from overcrowded schools to schools with empty seats. About 1,300 of these pupils are Negroes, and nearly all of them go to schools that are predominantly white. There are about 20,000 Negro children in grades 1-6 in Kansas City. Hence this plan provides integrated experience for 7 percent of Negro children. New schools are now being built to relieve the crowded conditions in Kansas City, and it is expected that the bussing program will terminate when there is space in the neighborhood schools for the children.

A program of bussing of the type here described does not affect more than a fraction of a percent of Negro children, unless it is used to reduce overcrowding and transportation is provided by the school district.

3. Changing attendance district boundaries to maintain or create racial balance in certain schools. This type of program might be effective in a situation where the population is stable, and it has worked effectively in a few situations. But during the past decade the Negro residential areas have expanded so fast that they have swallowed up school attendance areas faster than attendance boundaries could be modified. Such has been the experience of New York City, which established a school zoning office, and made about 100 attendance district changes between 1959 and 1963. In general, this method has not been effective unless it was part of a community stabilization plan, in which the people and the institutions of a local community committed themselves to a policy of stable integration.

4. Pairing and clustering of schools with white and Negro children. The "Princeton plan" of pairing contiguous schools has worked well in a number of small cities. According to this plan, two or more neighboring schools are combined into a single attendance area, and all the pupils in the enlarged area attend one school for the primary grades and the other school for the intermediate grades. A special adaptation of this plan has been used in Berkeley, California, where the three junior high schools have been combined into a single attendance area, all 7th graders attending one school, 8th graders another, and 9th graders the other. The Princeton plan runs into difficulty if the schools that are combined serve quite different socioeconomic groups. This was a part of the trouble in New York City, where a plan was adopted by the Board of Education in 1964 to create 24 pairs of elementary schools in which one member of each pair was largely white and the other member was largely Negro. Most of the proposed pairings were eventually abandoned.

This plan would seem to have good possibilities for integrating schools on the edges of a Negro ghetto, provided the ghetto is not expanding. But, until recently, the ghetto has been expanding in nearly all of the large cities.

5. Maintaining a set of integrated schools on an open enrollment basis, with local community participation in decision making. A partial program of school integration is possible in large cities where there are areas socially and psychologically ready for stable residential integration. In every big city there are some relatively large areas where the white population will stay and send their children to integrated schools provided they perceive the standards of school achievement and of behavior and discipline to be satisfactory. These areas are contiguous to Negro ghettos.

It may be necessary for the School Board to work out a program of racial balance in the schools of the area through control of school size. Sometimes a school must be deliberately kept small, if the number of white children is small, until such time as the white enrollment builds up and more Negro children can be admitted. This is now being done in a few places. The Hyde Park-Kenwood area of Chicago is an example, with a relatively small high school whose size is adapted to the limitations imposed by the white enrollment.

In the Survey of Chicago Public Schools conducted in 1964, a recommendation was made that the Board of Education work specifically with three large areas on the periphery of the Negro ghetto. Each area has about 300,000 population. Each area has strong local sentiment in favor of school integration and each area is ready to support residential integration policies. In these areas the location of new schools and the enrollment policies of the schools should be adapted to a policy of racial balance. Some of the elementary schools in these areas are now racially segregated, but the high schools are integrated, and some elementary schools are integrated. The first need is to stabilize the white population of these areas and then to work on a long-term policy of residential integration.

An alternative form of this general method is to establish and maintain a set of integrated secondary and elementary schools around the edges of Negro ghettos by applying the principle of voluntary enrollment in open schools with or without free transportation for pupils who have to go long distances to these schools. The School Board would have to maintain a policy of racial balance in such schools by limiting the enrollment of Negro pupils, if necessary. This policy has been criticized as an undesirable "quota" policy, and has, on the other hand, been supported as a workable system of "managed" integration. It has been argued that this policy is illegal in states with laws against discrimination on the basis of race. But the weight of recent court decisions is in favor of such policies, since the courts are saying that a Board of Education has not only a right but a positive obligation to develop programs of racial balance in the schools.

The essential thing about these programs of partial integration is that they depend upon local community understanding and support, and therefore they will succeed in some sections of a big city and fail in other sections with segregationist attitudes. In other words, the program of school integration in the city must be one of cooperation with local communities where the predominant sentiment is favorable to integration, and of waiting and working with other local communities until such time as they become favorable to integration.

The conditions necessary for an integration program of this sort are:

a. A School Board that favors positive integration programs.

b. A school administration that is able to work cooperatively with citizens and organizations in local community areas.

c. A school administration that wants to take positive measures to promote integration.

An integration program of this sort could conceivably bring about school integration for as many as 30 to 40 percent of Negro high school students and for 20 to 30 percent of Negro elementary school students, defining an integrated school as one with a minority of Negro pupils.

This kind of policy could include ten times as many Negro pupils as any of the others that have been mentioned. It could be put into action immediately and show substantial results in a two or three-year period.

6. Establishing one or more integrated "educational parks." There have been a number of proposals and even a few specific plans for the establishment of educational parks. The essential thing about this concept is that a relatively large school or set of schools should be maintained to serve a large geographical area that includes Negro and white residential areas. Thus the educational park is independent of residential segregation and would probably have no immediate effect on the residential distribution of Negro families.

In a clear and comprehensive essay on the educational park idea, written for the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights,* President John Fischer of Teachers College, Columbia University, describes the present state of affairs.

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* John H. Fischer, "The School Park." pp. 253-260 of the Appendices to Racial Isolation in the Public Schools, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1967.

The educational park is clearly feasible in a relatively small city which faces the need to build one or more new schools immediately. East Orange, New Jersey, is an example. With a population of 80,000 and having a closely built-up residential area, East Orange has 90 percent of its school population within one mile of the site chosen for the educational park. This site already contains the senior high school and a playing field. There is urban renewal property adjacent. It is planned to build a junior high school or middle school at once to serve the entire city, and to start a group of primary schools. The latter schools can be added, one by one, to the complex as existing schools become obsolete. An advantage is that the land on which existing primary schools stand is quite valuable, and can be sold for more than the cost of acquiring new land in the educational park area.

The East Orange school children will attend integrated school from the middle grades on, as soon as the educational park is established, and they will be brought into integrated primary schools in the park as time goes on.

At the other extreme of size and complexity are several plans for educational parks in larger cities. Thus, Syracuse, New York, has a plan on paper for the creation of four educational parks to house all the elementary school pupils of the city. They would be located away from the Negro ghetto, and would effectively integrate the schools. But the cost would be immense. Dr. Fischer estimates that one educational park to serve 16,000 pupils would cost $50 million ($3,000 per pupil-place). Syracuse would need 4 parks each serving 5,000 children. The proponents of educational parks argue that the federal government might pay a major part of the cost as part of a vast urban renewal program for central cities.

Except in a few relatively small and simple situations like the East Orange, the educational park is an undeveloped concept. The New York City Board of Education has perhaps gone the farthest, with an item for a single park in the 1967-68 budget.

There are three criticisms of the educational park concept when it is applied to a large city. First, the cost is so great as to make the project impractical without major support from the federal government, unless the project is carried out at a very slow rate, one park at a time, over several decades. Second, the educational park completely negates the neighborhood school, which has tremendous support from parents of elementary school children--both Negro and white parents generally prefer to have their young children attend a school in the immediate neighborhood. Third, the educational park concept is primarily one which exalts the administrative function and plays down the function of school-community cooperation in making decisions about school matters. The larger the school unit and the more distant it is from the homes of pupils, the more it becomes a system that is administered by a bureaucracy according to "good" principles of administration which play up the responsibility of the administrator for all kinds of decisions. At the same time, this process reduces the opportunity and the need for closer relations between parents and others in the local neighborhood on the one hand and the teachers and administrators of the school on the other hand.

In effect, the educational park tends to make the school system a walled-off institution with little or no interaction with local neighborhoods and their problems. It tends to secure integration within the school to the neglect of working for social integration in the community.

If these criticisms are justified, the education park, when viewed as an agent of integration, should be limited in size to serve areas of no more than 100,000 population, and preferably less. A park with a high school of 3,000 or less and its feeder elementary schools might serve an area small enough for the administration to keep in close interaction with parents and local community organizations.

Disadvantages of These Plans

All of the procedures that are being used in large cities and large metropolitan areas have the common factor of making integrated schooling more easily available to middle-class Negro students than to working-class Negro students. And those working-class Negro pupils who take advantage of such arrangements tend to be the ones with higher school achievement or with the more ambitious parents. In a big city with 30 to 50 percent Negro pupils in the public schools such plans as those outlined here could place as many as 30 percent of Negro high school pupils in schools with more than 70 percent white pupils, and as many as 20 percent of Negro elementary school pupils in schools with more than 60 percent white pupils. This is the direction in which Chicago, Detroit, Philadelphia, Pittsburg and Baltimore seem to be going.

Thus there is a tendency to divide the Negro community between the "haves" and the "have-nots", with the opportunity for integrated schooling going mainly to the "haves."

A result of such programs is that the segregated Negro schools tend to lose their better students, and the drive for integrated schooling for all Negro children may lose some of its pressure due to the defection of some of the Negro families that are more successful in getting integrated living and schooling for themselves and their children.

In fact, this situation is becoming so clear that some Negro leaders and some white professionals are deploring it, and moving to fight it, on behalf of a kind of "integration for all Negroes or for none" slogan.

The Experience of Other Ethnic Groups

Several large population groups from Europe have become socially integrated, though they came to the USA as relatively uneducated, and socially and economically disadvantaged groups. In order of their coming, there were Irish, coming in the middle decades of the 19th century; Scandinavians, coming between about 1870 and 1900; Poles and Italians, coming between about 1890 and 1914; and the Puerto Ricans, coming after 1940.

Though their stiuation was more complex, other immigrant groups have had similar histories. These include the Germans of the middle half of the 19th century, the European Jews, and the Japanese.

The five large groups who have come in at the bottom of the economic structure have gone through a similar development. They were originally employed at the least skilled jobs and at the lowest wages. Sometimes they were subject to adverse economic discrimination. For example, the newspapers of the 1850s often carried "help wanted" notices with the letters NINA (no Irish Need Apply.)

These groups had their own nationalist societies and their ethnic churches, and strong forces uniting them to fight against the "power structure" and to build their own centers of Irish Power, Polish Power, Italian Power, etc.

But right from the start there were individuals who embarked on their own careers of upward mobility into the main stream of the surrounding society. With hard work, skill and intelligence they found economic and educational opportunity and soon were able to choose between staying in tight ethnic neighborhoods or moving to areas of mixed residence. They sent their children to school and college and became part of a movement which distributed the ethnic group throughout the socioeconomic structure. Eventually they came to identify more with their socioeconomic group than with their ethnic group.

Since they were not physically different from the majority group and since they learned the majority language and dialect quickly, they had an easier task of integration than have the non-white groups.

The essential thing about these integrating immigrant groups was that they acted as individuals to take advantage of social and economic opportunity in an open society. Clearly, a number of Negroes have done the same thing over the past hundred years, but this has been only a small minority of Negroes. And there is a strong movement among Negroes to refuse to use this method of social integration and instead to mount a massive program of demands for rights and opportunities for Negroes as a total group.

The Dilemma for Negro and Liberal Leadership

The situation in which a growing number of the more favored Negro youth are getting more opportunity for integrated schooling while the less favored and generally the lower working class group of Negro families are becoming more rather than less segregated has created a dilemma for Negro leaders and for some of the liberal white professional - teachers and social workers especially.

The Negro leaders get much of their following at present from the lower working class Negroes who have been disadvantaged due to discrimination, low educational level, and unstable family life. Their children, on the average, do less well in school than other Negro children. The Black Power slogan appeals to them, and their leaders tend to think in terms of Black Power. The Black Power leaders feel that they must fight for integration and other forms of opportunity for their clients, the ones who are least likely to get these opportunities under a system which makes integration largely voluntary for those who are already successful enough or ambitious enough to get these opportunities through their own personal effort.

A number of liberal white professionals have an ideological position which favors the working-class over the middle class. If there was a Labor Party in the USA, they would be active in this party. They argue that the values which dominate American schools are narrow "middle-class values," and that these tend to penalize youth from working-class families who have sturdy "working-class values," and are more "hand-minded" and less verbally facile than middle-class youth.

Consequently any program which offers more opportunity to Negro youth who already show average or high school achievement is likely to be regarded by this group as an attempt to "keep down" the working class, and this group espouses the "integration for all or for none" cause.

There is also a group of white and Negro professionals, largely teachers, who are opposed to any program which favors the intellectually able minority group of students on the ground that such a program penalizes the youth with non-academic talents and the "late bloomer." They can always point to one case of a Negro youth who was 3 years retarded in reading level at the 9th grade, but suddenly met a stimulating teacher and simply became interested in school and jumped up to his age level in achievement or displayed a remarkable musical or artistic talent and finished high school and went on to college. This kind of person, they say, would suffer if the more successful students were encouraged to go to integrated schools while he did not get such encouragement.

Therefore they tend to oppose any program which is selective in its offering of opportunity to Negro youth. Yet practically all of the programs listed above, except that of the educational park, tend to favor the children who are already most successful.

Alternatives for Negro and Liberal Leadership

The alternatives for those who wish to work for improvement of Negroes through education appear to be two.

A. Promote a two-fold policy which favors immediate improvement for the already successful Negro youth and works patiently on a long-term policy of social reform which will eventually enhance the opportunity of the great majority of Negro youth through increased economic opportunity, open occupancy housing policy, and long-term plans of urban renewal which will break up the inner city ghettos.

The second part of this policy acknowledges that there will be 25 or 30 years of slow and painful progress in the integration of the inner city slum areas. Meanwhile it uses the methods of compensatory education--pre-school classes for disadvantaged children, improved primary grade teaching, education for parents, remedial instruction for children in the middle grades, work-study and other modified high school programs for youth who are likely to drop out of high school.

B. This alternative is a monolithic policy of all-or-none integration. It is based on the following postulates:

1. No white man can be trusted by Negroes.

2. The white power structure has deliberately worked to keep Negroes down and continues to do so: therefore a structure of Black Power must be created to oppose the white power structure.
3. It is better for all Negroes to make small but equal gains working together than for a minority of Negroes to make large gains based on their ability and achievement while the majority of Negroes do not make perceptible gains.

This position holds out hope for the Negro group through two major improvements. First, a massive integration program through open occupancy legislation, and large programs of transportation of Negro children to white majority schools and reverse transportation of white children to Negro majority schools.

The difficulty with this program is that it may drive white families out of the central cities to the suburbs of the metropolitan areas through the fear of the white parents that educational standards will be lowered in the central cities, whereas most of these families would accept limited integration with clear-cut white majorities in the schools which their children attend. This forced integration policy may tend to expand the areas of segregation and create larger black areas in the larger cities, thus fastening a kind of American Apartheid on the big cities.

The second element of the drive for improvement following this policy is the insistence that the teachers and the schools can and must do a much better job of teaching disadvantaged pupils. The position taken by these people is that teachers in Negro-majority schools, whether they be white or Negro, have defeatist attitudes: that they don't expect their pupils to learn much and therefore don't teach them much. If Negro children do not learn as much as white children, these people say it is the fault of the teachers and their administrators. It is not due to inadequate family mind-building experience, narrow family horizons, to peer group influences that discourage Negro children from trying to learn in school. Instead, it is due to teachers and principals and assistant superintendents and superintendents who lack the vision and the determination to help the Negro child to realize his potentiality.

The difficulty with this argument is that it is at most only partially valid. The family factor is a serious handicapping factor for the great majority of Negro children of the lower working class. This has been demonstrated by a number of solid research studies. Therefore the teachers and administrators who know about the family factor feel that they are unfairly criticized when the whole blame is placed on them for low school achievement on the part of Negro children and youth.

These two alternative approaches are becoming clearer and clearer in their opposition every day. Negro leaders as they get more power in their hands are subject to the same temptations and the same corruptions that afflict the leaders of any other powerful cause. History tells us that when a moral cause becomes popular and powerful beyond a certain point, it no longer can be counted on to be a moral cause. The Christian Church ran into problems of corruption when Christianity became popular. The labor movement discovered that it had corrupt and evil men among its leadership when it became powerful. And the Civil Rights movement is now at a point where a rational man can no longer count on the rectitude of all of its leaders. Some leaders of the Negro movement are evil and power-hungry men, and their leadership will be dangerous to the cause of Negro rights. They may favor measures that will preserve segregation rather than promote integration, as a means of keeping the Negro power structure solid. Above all, they are likely to favor an all or none policy of integration as they see some Negroes becoming integrated into the American Social structure and commencing to think of themselves as Americans first and Negroes afterward.

The Negro people and the liberal whites will have to make some choices among people seeking leadership and among programs for improvement of the status of Negroes. For example, Negro members of School Boards are now in positions where some of them are voting for policies which will continue segregation of nearly all Negro children rather than policies which will produce a limited amount of integration that favors the more successful Negroes, while accepting the idea that integration for all is an ideal which will take several decades to achieve.

The Way Out

For this writer, the best way out of the present situation seems fairly clear. It involves a two-point program with both points equally important. The first point is to consolidate the limited but expanded integration which is now possible, due to a growing favorable attitude toward integrated schooling by white urban parents and school children. This can result in effective integrated schooling for 20 to 30 percent of Negro children in the big cities of the North, the Border States, and the West. It will result in greater opportunity for Negro children who already have the best opportunities among the Negro group--this must be understood and admitted.

At the same time the second point or goal of the program must be pushed with energy and devotion--albeit with patience. This part of the program looks toward a slow remaking of the central cities of the metropolitan areas, with the development of areas of mixed racial and economic residence and schooling--such areas being natural regions in the big cities with populations of 100,000 to 400,000. This process will take at least 25 or 30 years of effort before it can become widespread enough to affect the lives of the majority of Negroes; but it can begin to become effective immediately if the Negro and white liberal leadership will go to work on it.

Administrator's In-Depth Seminars In Problems Of Desegregation As They Relate To Large City Schools

Los Angeles City School District

SEMINAR NO. 2: THE SPANISH-SPEAKING PEOPLE IN THE UNITED STATES

The following is a summary of the discussion periods of Seminar No. 2 conducted for the Superintendents of the Los Angeles City School Districts on July 28 and 29, 1967, by Dr. Julian Samora, head of the Department of Sociology, University of Notre Dame.

Q. DR. SAMORA, WE HAVE BEEN TOLD THAT THERE ARE THREE GROUPS IN THE SPANISH SPEAKING, WHICH OF THESE GROUPS SHOULD CAUSE THE GREATEST CONCERN?

A. The recent comer presents the greatest problem, because he is coming into a foreign situation. He must go through a great adjustment process. Next is the one who has been here a little longer and is well on the way to *acculturation. It depends on how long it takes to get into* the main stream of society. Those in Colorado and New Mexico are among the largest group and have acculturated more rapidly. Those whose ancestors have been here 300 years or so are the ones who have become acculturated. They have had more experience in American Society. However, despite the fact that these people were here since the 1600's, they did not begin to acculturate to a large extent until during the Second World War. This because of their getting into the army, into defense industries and the biggest factor, the GI bill. This permitted many of them, for the first time, to go to college.

The present educated generation is a result of the GI bill. Before 1945 one could almost count the Mexican-American professional men on the fingers of one hand. In general terms, assuming it takes four generations for minority groups to become completely adjusted to the society, the "first" generation for the Mexican-American was 1945. Thus for these people, acculturation began only in the last generation. Now you are seeing the second generation.

Q. WHAT ROLE DOES ENVIRONMENT PLAY IN MEXICAN-AMERICAN ATTITUDES TOWARD THE SCHOOLS?

A. Mexican-Americans are not generally part of the total societal system. Not much a part of the community system and not much a part of the educational system. They have been kept on the fringes of society. That is why their attitude toward public agencies is generally negative. Most of these attitudes would come from lack of knowledge, ignorance and the way they have been treated by social workers, nurses, teachers, and others, which up to this point has been rather negative. When the middle class person meets the lower class person in such a situation, and where the middle class person has the upper hand, quite often the result is negative attitudes on both sides. The situation has not been good because of the total lack of communication. What is needed is school-community communication.

Q. I HAVE FELT, DR. SAMORA, THAT THE SPANISH SURNAMED PERSON IS TOO READY TO SUBMIT TO AUTHORITY, AND THAT THIS HAS HURT HIM. COULD YOU SPEAK TO THIS?

A. The Mexican-American is characterized as being a very submissive person, and yet historically this is not the case at all. The Latin Americans have had their revolutions, but partly the family system and partly the religious system tend to imbue one with the submissive attitude. Positive experiences in the broader society will probably change their attitudes.

Another reason could be the class structure. When they become urbanized this will change.

If you have a predominantly lower class society dealing with middle class society, their defense mechanism will very likely lead to submission. It is not really inherent to this culture to be submissive to authority, except that the family is predominantly Catholic. This is a dominant factor, but it to tends to break down in the urban setting.

Q. DO YOU FEEL THAT A DEVELOPING LACK OF SUBMISSIVENESS ON THE PART OF THE MEXICAN-AMERICAN WILL INFLUENCE THEIR EFFECTIVENESS IN SCHOOL?

A. If the school system is meaningful to them, there is no problem. A student who has problems at home but who has goals and gets support from his teachers makes progress anyway. If the school is not providing support, it is just another place for problems.

Q. DID YOU SAY THAT IT IS THE SCHOOLS WHICH CAN SOLVE THESE PROBLEMS?

A. No, only some of the problems. An individual lives in a community where some opportunities are provided. He reacts to any force in the community. No matter how good the school, it can do little if there are strong pressures from outside the school situation. The school may or may not have a role in the situation. The family situation may not permit the individual to take advantage of the school. What could the school do about it? One has to operate at many levels and play many roles. For example, juvenile delinquency may have started long before the child came to school.

Q. MOST OF US FEEL THAT WHEN THE SCHOOLS ARE CRITICIZED, THAT PEOPLE THINK THAT THE SCHOOLS CAN PLAY A LARGER ROLE IN THE SOCIAL ECONOMIC CHANGES WHICH HAVE TO BE BROUGHT ABOUT THAN IS POSSIBLE. A GREAT DEAL OF CRITICISM COMES FROM SOCIOLOGISTS WHO BLAME THE SCHOOLS.

THIS SEEMS TO BE A PROFESSIONAL CHARACTERISTIC AS FAR AS SOCIOLOGISTS ARE CONCERNED. WHEN THEY HAVE COME INTO THE FEDERALLY FUNDED PROGRAMS THEY HAVE BEEN VERY INTOLERANT TOWARD THE PROBLEMS FACED BY THE SCHOOLS.

A. Let me answer from the sociologists point of view. Any individual who is born into a society has to be socialized and learn how to behave in that society. The prime socializer is the family, next the school. The school is compulsory and they have a boy from five to ten years giving him an opportunity to become socialized. The child spends a great many hours in school during those ten years. He has a large number of experiences during this time and can be influenced. In the last few years the family has turned over some of its responsibilities to the schools. The church, in an urban area, now has less and less influence. If there is trouble, people look to the school.

In the community, the peer group is not so easily identified. A group of boys may influence each other more so than the teacher can in the whole time a youngster attends her class. A person can look back in his life and recall influencing events and people who helped him decide what to do. Sometimes the peer group is exerting pressure right in the school.

Q. WELL, WHAT IS THE PRIMARY ROLE OF THE SCHOOL?

A. The primary role is to take the individual and make him a functioning member of society; to take over where the family left off.

However, there are state laws and budgets, and the schools must work within certain limitations. There are some things that can be done and some that cannot. Unfortunately, schools have come to be viewed as the panacea for all of the ills of society.

Q. AS A SOCIAL INSTITUTION, ARE THE SCHOOLS NOT SOMEWHAT LIMITED SO FAR AS THE VALUES THEY CAN IMPRESS ON SOCIETY? THE FORCES WHICH DIRECT THE SCHOOLS ARE MIDDLE AND UPPER CLASS, YET THE SCHOOLS MUST SERVE ALL CLASSES.

A. It is all within a framework. The students who come into the flow under which we are operating will benefit from the program, yet the schools should break away from this set pattern. The school gets criticism from the bottom and the top. There are limitations; the school cannot say, "this is what we are going to do - give us the money." When things go wrong the school gets blamed by both the government and the community, being subject to criticism from both the client and the power structure. The school is dependent upon the client for financial backing. Realistically, it is better to please the community than the power structure. Also, there are the federal programs to be considered; for they are a second source of the money needed to operate the schools.

Q. WE HAVE SEEMED TO LEAD YOU ASTRAY WITH OUR QUESTIONS, DR. SAMORA. MAY I ASK, HOW DOES ONE DETERMINE WHERE THE REAL LEADERSHIP IN THE MEXICAN-AMERICAN COMMUNITY MAY BE FOUND?

A. Leadership operates at various levels; there are group leaders, spokesman, and leaders in the political arena. The schools have to work with all three. What might have been neglected here is the grass roots level. The Mexican-American community has not come up with a national leadership, nor with any major political leaders. There are a vast number of group leaders fighting among themselves. It might turn out that the real leader will be at the grass root level. He will probably be more helpful in immediate problems and working relationships.

The larger leadership is not important in immediate problems. Some claim to be spokesmen, but have no base. Priority should be set in selecting leaders. Work should be done on the community level.

Q. HOW DO WE FIND THESE COMMUNITY LEADERS WHO EXIST AT THE GRASS ROOTS LEVEL?

A. Send someone who can enter the community to find out the feelings of the people in the community. Keep in touch with the community. Then, too, keep in touch with the power structure. Develop ways and contacts so that problems of both sides can be discussed. School Advisory Committees are one way of getting to the people. The school must get rid of suspicions and gain the confidence of the people. You must get their approval and this is a process of trust and honesty.

Q. COULD WE ESTABLISH A LEADERSHIP IN EAST LOS ANGELES? A LEADERSHIP WHICH WOULD BE ACCEPTED?

A. There is distinction between spokesmen and leaders. The spokesman can speak "about" and not "for".

Q. HOW DOES THE TERM "SPANISH-SURNAMED" DIFFER FROM THE TERM "MEXICAN-AMERICAN"? IS THERE A DIFFERENCE?

A. Not basically. Spanish surname is a censors technique for counting people with spanish surnames in the South West.

Q. COULD YOU SPEAK ABOUT THE WAY YOU SEE URBANIZATION AS EFFECTING THE MEXICAN-AMERICAN FAMILY?

A. In the name of progress, as freeways are built, these people get shaken up and shifted from one slum to another. Another contributing factor is the inability of public agencies to handle the situation.

Conditions for the Mexicans have remained relatively unchanged. They are still living in poverty. This creates considerable discontent. The drop-out rate shows that the American schools have not done well by the Mexican-American. The school has not done much to meet this problem in terms of curriculum. The community is partly responsible. Something is wrong when you have a drop-out rate of 50% in a day of equal opportunity and compulsory education. The school has not provided an environment congenial to the Mexican-American. It is felt that the school has gone out of its way not to find a climate favorable to the Mexican-American.

The way to teach a child is to accept him for what he is. It has taken the Anglo six years to learn the English language. When you get a child with another language he must sink or swim within a year or two, and he usually sinks.

Q. FOR ALL THAT, AREN'T THE FAMILY PATTERNS IN THE MEXICAN-AMERICAN COMMUNITY PRETTY MUCH THE SAME?

A. This is not a homogeneous group. There are the various social class levels, and to them you must add the structure of the family.

In some areas there is 59% spouse absenteeism. There is also a tremendously high percentage of broken homes, and of divorce in the urban Mexican-American community. You are dealing with families not unlike that of the Negro. If you consider movement to the city and whatever happens to the family there, then you will probably encounter a disorganized family. You may not have the father figure at all. On the other hand, a rural family which has moved to the urban area has a father who is unskilled; he can't get much of a job. The children go to high school and begin to question his authority. The school must take into consideration the type of family with which it is dealing.

Q. DR. SAMORA, YOU HAVE JUST COME TO US FROM MEXICO. HOW DOES THE SOCIETY YOU HAVE JUST DESCRIBED DIFFER FROM THAT IN MEXICO?

A, Mexico has undergone a tremendous revolution and a successful one. It is not the same type of revolution as those which have taken place in other Latin American countries. The revolution in Mexico following 1910 stabilized the country. Today, the peso is sound. Great economic development has occurred, an education system was developed, along with health services and public agencies. They still have a big problem of population growth. A diversified social structure is developing very slowly. There is still a large mass of poor people. It is these poor people who are crowding the border cities and presenting problems. Those who are not poor have no need to move on. Mexico is making progress but because of the population growth, there are still many people without schooling.

Q, COULD THIS HAVE SOME THING TO DO WITH THE SHARP DECLINE WE HAVE NOTED AMONG MEXICAN CITIZENS WHO ARE TAKING CITIZENSHIP CLASSES?

A. There has never been a big push among Mexicans to become citizens of the U.S. Many have come for a short time without the expectation of becoming Americans although some of them do stay for years and years.

Q. HOW DOES ONE INVOLVE THE MEXICAN-AMERICAN COMMUNITY IN SCHOOL ACTIVITIES?

A. It is a question of how you work with your advisory committees. They usually feel that they are not being heard. A school package must make an impact or it is not much good. The community wants an opportunity to have its say about curriculum. If the local plans are discussed with the community and you get their backing you can do anything you want to do. It is a matter of getting their confidence and trust in the school. The aspirations of educators for the students and the aspirations of the parents for the students may be very different.

Q. WHAT ABOUT TEACHING THE KIDS IN SPANISH, IS IT A GOOD IDEA?

A. If you teach a child what the school wants to teach, and if he understands it in Spanish, you would accomplish the objectives. In the process he could also learn English. Otherwise, he becomes frustrated. Use Spanish as a base and by the time the student is in 3rd grade, he will be well on the road to being literate in two languages. Create a favorable environment. When a child goes to school and is confronted with teachers whom he doesn't understand with rules he doesn't understand, he feels frustrated and inferior. Experiments in teaching in Spanish have been successful up to this point. Spanish should be taught sufficiently well so that the students could become literate. Students should be allowed to take more than one year of Spanish.

Do not cut him off and insist on English. The problem is the availability of bi-lingual teachers and a sympathetic school system.

Q. JUST HOW WELL DO THESE BOYS AND GIRLS SPEAK SPANISH?

A. The language spoken is adequate.

Q. IF THE PARENTS HAVE SUSPICIONS OF ANGLOS, HOW DO WE GET TO THEM?

A. Hire specialists and pay them well. Get one with contacts - not necessarily one with a Ph.D. It could even be a former school drop-out. You must gain the confidence of the people.

Dollars alone won't help. You need people who are capable of doing this type of work.

Q. HOW ABOUT THE INVOLVEMENT OF THE WHOLE COMMUNITY?

A. The school has a system to run. There are laws and just so much money. The school's attitude is that it knows what is best for the children. They have not gone out into the community to find out what people would like to have done in the school. This is a good way to get information from the community.

One reason it is hard to convince the people that the school is trying to do something for them is that the school has not always consulted the community.

Q. WHAT DO YOU SEE AS THE MAIN JOB OF THE SCHOOLS IN PROVIDING AN EDUCATION FOR THE MEXICAN-AMERICAN?

A. Take a good look at the curriculum. In teaching American history the beginning should be in Europe then to Latin American and then to the Southwest, not to Plymouth Rock. Show them they are part of the contributors to American Society. Develop their pride in their background. Develop pride in their heritage, in arts and craft, music and literature. Add depth to education. Provide practical counseling. A good counselor would know some of the needs and aspirations of the children and the opportunities available. A counselor could make or break them. Vocational courses should not be given categorically. Get rid of the idea of keeping the child busy to keep him out of trouble. Look at the teacher training institutions. These have not looked closely at the adequacy of the preparation of the teacher who will work with children from minority groups. Studies and experiments should be made. Good teachers are often sent to better schools. Poor teachers get the problem schools. It should be the other way around.

Q. HOW WOULD YOU GO ABOUT MOTIVATING THE MEXICAN-AMERICAN PUPIL?

A. What the Mexican-American student needs is the feeling that the teachers as well as the school care what happens to him. I know of one teacher who held a weekly seminar for his students. He discussed their aspirations for the next ten years. He asked, "who are you? What are your problems?" He brought in different people to tell how they got where they are today. The students found out a lot about themselves and saw themselves in relation to the total society. This can widen horizons. It also provided status models for the pupils. The teacher also compiled a list of the available scholarships and funds for the students. A program like this can be beneficial, and cost very little. The real pay off is the organization and conception of cohesiveness and unity which will occur ten years from now. There will then be people who know what they are and what they want.

Q. DR. SAMORA, HOW DO YOU FEEL THE MAJORITY OF MEXICAN-AMERICANS FEEL ABOUT INTEGRATION?

A. If this means going to school with Negroes, they have the same attitudes as the whites. If you mean being integrated, the majority couldn't care less about becoming an Anglo. These people could retain their culture and language; be different; learn English, and remain happy human beings. This is a resource which should be kept. One can become a solid American citizen without being "deculturized".

You are aware that each ethnic group reflects certain needs. Mexicans are not interested in fighting to be integrated. They have picked up the American racial bias. They realize, however, that the Negro is more powerful politically than they are. Mexicans are not sold on the idea of becoming nice Anglos. There is some resistance to becoming assimilated.

Q. IN WHAT MANNER CAN WE ATTRACT MEXICAN-AMERICANS INTO THE PROFESSION?

A. The success you have seen so far has come from sheer intimate contact of a good teacher. Those who are already in the teaching profession probably came into it this way. A sympathetic teacher sets up a status model all along the way.

Q. THE COMMUNITY IS SCREAMING THAT THERE ARE NOT ENOUGH MEXICAN-AMERICANS IN POLICY MAKING ADMINISTRATIVE POSITIONS. WE KNOW THERE ARE NOT ENOUGH CANDIDATES ON THE WAY UP. NOW WHAT DO WE DO?

A. Just because a teacher is Mexican-American, he is not necessarily going to be better in a given situation. When he becomes an administrator he is likely to be so far removed from the community he may not necessarily be a better administrator. If the Mexican-American is well qualified - good, but you don't hire him just because he is a Mexican-American. I do not go along with the quota system.

In the process of becoming an administrator, the minority member may become alienated from his society.

Q. IN WHAT WAY CAN WE ANSWER CRITICISM OF OUR SELECTION PROCESS? HOW CAN WE CONVINCE THE COMMUNITY THAT IT TAKES TIME TO PREPARE THEIR PEOPLE FOR ADMINISTRATIVE POSITIONS?

A. Go back to the community and say, "We need X number of Mexican-American administrators, do you know anybody qualified?" When they try to recruit they will find out that there is no one to recruit. When they see that you are not discriminating and are in fact looking, they will be convinced that you are trying - but make sure that is what you are doing. The quota system makes sense to the extent that you could use good minority group teachers, but considering today's society, maybe a Negro teacher should be teaching white students. It might be unrealistic to try to have 20% Mexican teachers just because there are 20% Mexican-American pupils - there just are not that many teachers available and there won't be for several years. When you attempt integration you have to look very carefully at your minority teachers. Is it better to distribute them around?

The community should be responsible for encouraging people to go into the teaching profession. The community could help in recruitment, but it is the school that does the hiring and has the responsibility for this.

You must involve the community. Someone has to show them that there is no discrimination. They could be involved in curriculum, but they may not be qualified to participate in the selection of teachers.

One of the problems is that the Mexican-American community looks to other professions instead of teaching because of the status. There must be developed a greater interest in teaching. Most of the colleges do not discriminate against the Mexican-American; but they also do not encourage the student. They have not done a job of attracting them. In Colorado, however, a large percentage of the Mexican-American students who enter college become teachers. Too many Mexican-Americans who have been educated, have not returned later to contribute to society.

The role of the school system is to guide human beings so they will have a concern for their fellow man and for society. This means a sense of social justice.

Q. WHAT TYPE OF REACTIONS DO YOU SEE DEVELOPING BETWEEN THE NEGRO AND MEXICAN-AMERICAN COMMUNITIES OVER THE NEXT FEW YEARS?

A. There has been a lot of talk in recent years about the development of a coalition of minority groups because of common problems. The Negro problem is really not the same. Some people think that if you could get them together on common issues it might be a great thing, but a number of Negro and Mexican-American coalitions have been attempted on political issues and worked fairly well for a while; but they were temporary and dissolved. I do not see a coalition coming within the next ten years, because it seems to me that the Mexican-American has picked up from the Anglo their racial prejudice. This they have learned from the dominant society. The Mexican-American looks at the Negro not unlike the Anglo does. Asking him to work with the Negro is asking a pretty difficult thing. He is in direct competition with the Negro. The Negro has the political power which the Mexican-American does not have. You may be able to get the two groups to work together at a certain level, but it will be a long time before they work together successfully. The racial attitude and the level of development each group has reached at this time would not permit a long term coalition. There is no question that if you could have them get together, you would really have something. The Negro is politically active and has more experience in leadership. The Mexican-American is likely to resent this because he has not been able to move in the same way. There would be too much in-fighting in the structure now. Mexico is not the best example to use in reference to prejudice.

Q. DR. SAMORA, DO YOU VISUALIZE THAT WHAT HAPPENED IN WATTS COULD HAPPEN IN EAST LOS ANGELES?

A. It is quite possible. If suppression continues, and people continue to live in ghettos without opportunity, it is possible.

One of you has said that, "The people will not involve themselves in this type of explosion because they are not that desperate. Although there are pockets of poverty and hard core poor, they also have people of moderate income still living in the community."

Yet consider that a history of revolutions is still a part of the people. What about Caesar Chavez? The people are trying to get a bit of justice. They have had marches in agricultural sections of Michigan and Texas.

The situation will not necessarily happen in the same way as Watts, but it is possible that it might happen. A flare up could come - the hostility is there.

THANK YOU, DR. SAMORA.

Administrator's In-Depth Seminars In Problems Of Desegregation As They Relate To Large City Schools

Los Angeles City School District

SEMINAR NO. 3: DEVELOPING SCHOOL STAFFS

The following is a summary of the discussion periods of Seminar No. 3 conducted for the Superintendents of the Los Angeles City School Districts on August 4 and 5, 1967, by Dr. Gordon Klopf, Dean of Faculties, Banks Street College of Education.

Q. DR. KLOPF, WHAT DO YOU SEE AS THE CRITICAL PROBLEM AREAS WHICH ARE FACING CONTEMPORARY EDUCATORS?

A. Some school people rationalize and say that the current crisis is brought in from outside, but we really are also responsible for the education we have designed for the young people and in many ways it is not relevant to their lives. We are very comfortable in our middle class lives in relation to the disadvantaged. In both the middle class and lower class a critical problem is with the boy. It is the Negro male who has the most difficult time in our society. The classroom in many elementary schools is not geared to the life and interests of the boy.

Q. WILL THE HEAD START PROGRAM HELP AMELIORATE THIS PROBLEM?

A. Head Start is basically a free kindergarten program, in some areas, particularly in the South. It was conceived and attempts to function in terms of the concept that the school is a social institution responsible for the development of the whole child. While some of us have accepted that the school is concerned with the development of the whole child it really has been concerned with but a portion of the child's life. Head Start makes a greater commitment.

Q. IS THE HEAD START PROGRAM FILLING THIS GAP? DO YOU FEEL THAT IT HAS BEEN SUCCESSFUL? WHAT ABOUT THE FOLLOW THROUGH PROGRAM?

A. There has been a loss of some of the gains made in the Head Start Program. The Follow Through concept is basically designed to support some of the gains that Head Start made. There may be more of these programs next year. Follow Through was originally conceived to see the school as an institution with a more total responsibility for the child.

Q. EXACTLY WHAT ARE THE COMPONENTS IN YOUR FOLLOW THROUGH PROGRAM? HOW DOES IT VARY FROM HEAD START?

A. I view Head Start as an intensive program concerned with community and family life. The decision making role of the parent has been apparent in the Head Start Program. One conflict has been that the parents have had their own ideas as to how the program should be conducted. They also have their own ideas as to how their children should learn.

There is an emphasis on the quality of the teaching process. The teacher is an orchestrator with diagnostic skills and techniques. He acts as the orchestrator of the strengths of other people when working with the child. It is going to take a master kind of a teacher. He must be a diagnostician and a good observer and analyst of people and children.

Let me outline the proposed components of the program of Follow Through as I see them.

1. Improve and enlarge the function of the psychologists and other ancillary personnel so they may play a greater part in the learning team.
2. Provide health services (including nutrition).

3. Define the role of the State; work with the State in meaningful ways in developing elementary programs.
4. Provide for evaluation and research.

To implement the educational process in the Follow Through Program, we must attempt, as educators, to:

1. Increase the sensitivity of the child to the world around him, expanding the world of the child.
2. Accept that learning is the cognitive and affective world of the child; learn the inner world of the child.
3. Know something of his family life. Be sensitive to his environment.
4. Realize that learning frequently has to involve action and activity. Help the child develop competency in his world. Help the child develop a personal relationship to other people and the environment. Realize that children need more than reading. A child should have the opportunity of "trying out" things out loud.
5. Help him develop the process of thinking. Help him go through the processes of arriving at a response.
6. Build programs from the interest and world of the child's life. A Follow Through premise is that a class should not be larger than 18. The Advisory Committee believes that class size is a very important factor in the relationship to learning. However, with some teachers, not much more can be done with 15 students than is being done with 30.
7. Understand that the quality of the interaction process is a key factor in learning. The child must sense that there is interest and concern for him. A teacher has to be a sensitive human being and in response to life around her. Most of the Follow Through Advisory Committee would

like one aide for every 15 children; however some say they would like one aide for every six.

Q. I HAVE READ THAT A MAJOR CONCERN IN THE FOLLOW THROUGH PROGRAM HAS TO DO WITH STAFF DEVELOPMENT.

A. This is being thought of as somewhat of an on-the-job and in-situation, where one tries to improve one's competencies as a teacher.

Basically, the goal here is in developing a more competent person on the job. Let a teacher take 15 minutes each day to study her children, analyze their thoughts, needs, learning styles and evolve a learning strategy for the differentiated patterns.

The goal in staff development should be a personal one, to get people to function in more effective ways. Common approaches of staff development are lectures, leadership, group discussion, consultation, demonstrations, study of models, and reading.

The process of moving another adult is a complex one. First the supervisors must themselves improve their skills. Supervisors should be given an opportunity to have group counseling sessions. They should meet together in an unstructured session where they can talk about their feelings. Both supervisors and teachers need a place and time to explore their anxieties.

In order to change, a person must be motivated. He must have new input-ideas, concepts, techniques, programs, processes. He then must have an opportunity to practice the new skills with support and counsel if he is to develop new competencies.

Q. WHAT DO YOU SEE AS THE ROLE OF THE STATE IN THE FOLLOW THROUGH PROGRAM, DR. KLOPF?

A. The feeling in Washington apparently is that the State is to become a major factor in fund granting and for developing regional guidelines. There is some decentralization of the United States Office of Education. Follow Through is to involve State people in training and State approval.

Q. IF THE STATES TAKE OVER, DO YOU BELIEVE IT WILL TAKE JUST AS LONG TO GET ANYTHING APPROVED?

A. The policy is to let the State share in responsibility for funding. Whether or not it will take less time, I don't know.

Q. DR. KLOPF, I SHOULD LIKE TO ASK A QUESTION CONCERNING THE TEACHING PROCESS. WHAT DO YOU THINK THE TEACHER'S ROLE IN THE CLASSROOM SHOULD BE SO FAR AS IT RELATES TO BEHAVIORAL PROBLEMS?

A. Rather than being retaliatory, one must deal with one's own feelings. In a recent incidence, on a subway, a young man struck me on the arm for no reason. He perhaps was angry for the whiteness I represented. The Negro has suffered discrimination the most, and you have to understand his anger and its violence, even though we hope he can handle it in other ways.

As a two-year project for sixth and seventh grade boys in Harlem, we worked with teachers in group counseling sessions. There were some teachers with major academic interests. They were working with very young people who needed sensitive persons interested in them, not only the subject. These students were very hostile to the teachers. We watched the feelings of the students toward the teachers shift when the anxieties towards the students were aired in group sessions for the teachers. Some of the teachers with the most problems were teaching French and the others in the group urged to stop the teaching of the language for a while and take the students on field trips to the United Nations and the other areas of the city where different languages were used. They talked about French life and activities, but did not teach it in the classroom as a language. After a while they were able to go back to teaching French. Frequently, when you help relieve a person's anxiety and give support as to where he moves next, there is more effective functioning.

Q. AS THE TEACHERS CHANGED, WAS THERE A NOTICEABLE CHANGE IN CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR ON THE PART OF THE PUPILS?

A. About half of the students improved in their grades and academic achievement. Most of these children had a very good academic history. The grades went back to the 70's and 80's and they sustained that for two marking periods. Additionally, about two thirds shifted in behavior. We didn't call the teacher's sessions group counseling. We used the word "seminar". The boys were in group sessions where they could talk about whatever they wished. They moved from griping about classes to adults, to environment, and finally, to self.

Q. NOW, WERE THOSE TEACHERS ASSIGNED TO THE SCHOOL, OR DID THEY OFFER TO GO THERE?

A. Some of the teachers really wanted to go, but others were assigned.

Q. SOME OF US HAVE SEEN, OR HEARD ABOUT, A FILM CONCERNING A SCHOOL IN BROOKLYN. WHAT IS YOUR HONEST OPINION ABOUT THAT PICTURE?

A. They took a difficult school. It was not quite what they purported it to be in the film; the film made the situation unusually bleak. We need films on good teaching.

Q. YOU MENTIONED AIDES. WE ARE VERY MUCH INTERESTED IN THE AIDES PROGRAM. COULD YOU TELL US HOW YOU VIEW THE OVERALL USE OF AIDES IN THE SCHOOL PROGRAM?

A. We have been working now for about two and a half years with auxiliary personnel programs in different areas. What I am saying today is drawn from these projects. We don't think this is like the WPA or other such programs; it is really here to stay. However, some persons in the schools are still opposing the programs. The processes of selection and training are critical. Teachers must be helped to use auxiliary personnel. The school must have someone who plays the role of the adult counselor for the auxiliary personnel. The whole program is a very complex one, yet we believe the program has values for the learner and for the adults involved.

Q. COULD YOU LIST SOME OF THE CRITERIA WHICH SHOULD BE USED IN SELECTING AIDES, AND ANY PROBLEMS YOU FORESEE?

A. In talking of a definition, this is still highly debatable. Some schools take people who know the cultural life of the neighborhood. In the selection of people for the role of aide, the training that is done by the school system may be more important than some of the preservice training.

In Phoenix, an aide project was started for the Navajos. They had Indian Aides who were trained in the summer session to work with audio-visual programs and materials. This preservice training was critical, because the regular teachers did not know how to use this equipment. This was done with the cooperation of the Phoenix and the reservation schools. The teachers and the aides also met before they worked together in the schools.

Selection is complex and relates a great deal to the role the trainee is to play. A librarian aide must train in a supporting role and must have a great deal of inservice training on the job. Whether or not the aide is successful in the role depends greatly on the time and development the teacher or other members of the school staff can spend in training.

Preservice orientation is critical to the success of the program, for without it, too much work has to be done by the teacher. The role of the teacher and the aide should be discussed with teachers before the aide comes into the picture.

How you use the auxiliary varies a great deal with the situation. We are supporting a developmental approach to the role the auxiliary plays with some initial role clarification. It will vary in different places. We are hoping that it does not get too structured on a national basis. The teacher should have some flexibility and use the auxiliary in different roles.

Q. I WOULD LIKE TO KNOW HOW YOU TRAIN TEACHERS TO WORK WITH THE TEACHER-ASSISTANT AIDES.

A. There is some training of the teacher as well as of the aide. This is all worked out in advance, and it is worked out as a team. Where the aides and the teachers were trained together, there was much less role conflict, because each was given a definition of the role he was to play. This eliminates a lot of problems. Teachers will all need some pre-training sessions if the program is to be successful. Without this training, the teacher may keep the assistant on a monitorial level a long time.

The use of the aide is more complex at the different levels. This is often true with the older children in the junior high. Sometimes aides find the child too threatening. It might be difficult for a person from a low socio-economic background to be placed with a middle-class group.

Where there has been failure, the cause has been in training and selection. In Follow Through, the teacher is expected to accept this responsibility and take on an aide. Among those aides who had college training, and those who did not, the critical factor was on-the-job training.

Q. IS THERE SOME LITERATURE ON PRESERVICE TRAINING AVAILABLE?

A. Yes, write to Bank Street College, 103 East 125th Street, New York City, and request it.

Q. DR. KLOPF, COULD YOU LIST SOME OTHER TYPES OF COMPENSATORY PROGRAMS WHICH WE MIGHT CONSIDER?

A. Many schools need new approaches to the curriculum and might have a team on curriculum planning in the school. A program which makes the school program really relevant to the lives of the children is our greatest challenge, not for compensatory education.

In Puerto Rico the teaching staff works eleven months. Part of the eleventh month they are working on the school's curriculum in the school unit. They also relate to the community. They might take a group of children away for a week. They do work with the parents. The month of June is a paid month. They have workshops where they plan for the school year. They go on camping trips or work with the mothers in English. Some are individualized projects. They may be teaching the children in an informal way during this month.

In New York, in the All-Day Neighborhood School Program, a second group of teachers stay until 6 p.m. for an after-school enrichment for the children. It has been quite successful.

A new national program is the parent and child center. This program is a planned educational, social, and health center concerned with the whole family and designed to work with all aspects of family life.

Q. HOW WILL THIS PROGRAM WORK WITH THE ADULTS IN THESE FAMILIES?

A. Until an adult reaches physical senility, there is a tremendous potential for change. However, adults accept new ideas and concepts much less easily than the young. Staff members will have to move very slowly and give the adult time to think things over.

Q. DO YOU SEE MUCH ADVANTAGE IN THE EXTENDED SCHOOL DAY?

A. It would be very beneficial. As I said here, in the All-Day Neighborhood School, a second group of teachers moves into the school at noon and is there until 6 p.m. They have tours, recreation, and other inter-group activities. The after-school teacher attempts to relate the program to the instructional activities of the child's day.

Q. WHAT ABOUT THE IDEA OF 24-HOUR SCHOOL FOR SOME OF THESE YOUNGSTERS?

A. Some of the social workers believe that we should strengthen the home and the parent. However, a small percentage of the homes are so bad that it might be better to take children away to some type of residential center.

Q. TIME IS GROWING SHORT, BUT COULD YOU COMMENT BRIEFLY CONCERNING STAFF DEVELOPMENT?

A. All administrators cannot be staff developers. Some assistant principals cannot become staff trainers, but every school must have someone who can train and teach others. The process of helping adults change can be learned. It is easier to be an administrator than to work with the staff as a trainer.

There are many new processes of staff development. The components of a good program include:

a) Opportunities for persons to understand themselves;

b) Opportunities to learn new information about new concepts and programs;

c) Opportunities to practice new skills and ways of working with help over a long period of time;

d) Opportunities to receive support and reward for early new competencies.

Q. DO YOU FEEL THERE IS CONCERN FELT BY TEACHERS GOING INTO THE HARLEM AREA?

A. Yes, I think there must be commitment. You can have commitment to do a job, but love only lasts so long. You have to like teaching and know how to do it.

Q. HOW DO YOU VIEW THE FUTURE FOR LOS ANGELES IF WE CONTINUE TO OPERATE THE SYSTEM AS WE ARE DOING NOW?

A. There will years of trouble if there is no improvement. It means more money and it means new ways of working with children. The schools have to be different.

LET ME SAY THIS:

In education our role is the development of the potential of the person. The school may have to accept to a much greater responsibility in problems which are family or community problems. At least we are going to have to develop relevant programs which enable the child to learn. Our responsibility is for enabling the child to learn, not teaching. We are going to have to find the money and personnel to do this and Follow Through could help to do just that.

THANK YOU, DR. KLOPF.

Administrator's In-Depth Seminars In Problems Of Desegregation As They Relate To Large City Schools

Los Angeles City School District

SEMINAR NO. 4: SCHOOLS FACED WITH MULTIPLICITY OF LEADERSHIP

The following is a summary of the discussion periods of Seminar No. 4 conducted for the Superintendents of the Los Angeles City School Districts on October 19 and 20, 1967, by Dr. Ernesto Galarza, Consultant, Community Relations.

Q. DR. GALARZA, WE IN LOS ANGELES ARE VERY MUCH AWARE OF OUR MEXICAN-AMERICAN COMMUNITY. COULD YOU SUGGEST SOME TECHNIQUES FOR SERVING THIS SEGMENT OF OUR POPULATION?

A. We are in a bog. Community organization and community relations appear upon closer examination as a very complex area of human relations. The faith people had in the '40's in community organization is described in some reports. There was the technique of going into a village and teaching the people how to make bricks, then how to build a well, etc. By stages the community improved itself. The reports are now beginning to show up on a different level. This is merely the kindergarten stage of social evolution.

We have, today, a strong faith in the community organization. We have relief agencies - government aid - etc. Community life now means, how can we locate the keys to the community so as to unlock the community with the least waste of time. This reveals another characteristic of community organization today. Whenever you speak to a group in the Mexican community the thing you really want to know is "who are the key people we can relate to?"

We are getting into a frame of mind that if we can identify the leader, we can get things done. This is not true! The Mexican community is a mosaic composed of cultural features. There are people who have been here six years and sixty years and people under 25 who are not relating to the Mexican culture. There are 400,000 who are not citizens of the U.S. or belong to any organization. We must find a force of key people to whom information can be related and with whom agreement can be attained. It requires a recognition of the fact that in East Los Angeles there are probably 200 informal groups whose interests are in 200 different problems. They are small groups, but intense, and are brought together by common urgencies. A group of 150 families organized themselves and their entire focus was fighting a company to remove a mountain of slag that had been dumped on their street and flooded with surface run off. These spontaneous groups spring up all over the southwest but they don't last long. They do not have places to meet; no method for sending out notices. The schools should take notice of this fact and community organizers should be engaged by the schools to go into the community and identify these people. There is a great deal of initiative, but it is taking place in a vacuum. The same people show up at every meeting, and there is nobody trained to bring in new people; no resources to make further contact.

The people are being solicited and organized by a dozen agencies who all have one thing in common. They want to manipulate. If the school becomes manipulators, the sin is twice compounded. The point of raising leadership comes up many times. Do not offer yourself as leaders. The superintendents' leadership role is in education, and he is too busy to be a leader of the community. Yet the school can help the community by making available to them persons who know the technical questions and technical answers around the group organized. Offer training to the leadership that naturally emerges from the ranks of the organization. What the natural leadership needs is basic techniques. Through this process you will gain from grass roots leadership.

There is a pattern to these meetings. The first time is terrible. The second time there is an indication of slight criticism. The third time you are familiar to them. The fourth and fifth time you can probably get down to facts. It takes a tough hide. The assistant can be a community organizer. There should be another agent who spends his full professional time doing the in-between job. This type of person is scarce. The man must become indispensible in the community and also reflect the schools' interests. In that instance the school might emerge in a situation where the schools are doing the manipulating. In the case of the schools, the sense of responsibility will probably avoid this. The politician is trained in the skills of manipulation - you expect this in politics. His people are hand-picked and become easily manipulated. This keeps the community docile, but in an education situation this could cause hostility.

Q. IS THERE A MARKED DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE GENERATIONS?

A. There are those who survived the first wave of migration. They are not a large number of people but they are the inner core of the Mexican people. Then there are the professional people, doctors, teachers, lawyers. They are influential. The current leadership in the community is from this group.

Q. DR. GALARZA, COULD YOU TELL US HOW EAST LOS ANGELES AND A SIMILAR COMMUNITY IN MEXICO DIFFER?

A. In the Mexican community of East Los Angeles there is a transition taking place. Those who came to live there had to learn about a different political system. In the Mexican system there is the tradition of the town meeting. It is centralized and it is related to the politics of the President. If you examine the budget and income you find that the President takes it all and doles back to the cities and provinces as little as possible. This so he can allocate it as it is politically necessary. It is a perfect pyramid. Then the President does something he gets credit for it; the Mayor does not inaugurate anything.

Here we are committed to a system of getting an opportunity to complain, push, and organize. There are public meetings, but there is a cultural barrier. If you are of the working class and have not gotten through school, when you ask a question or comment, you are accused of trying to keep up with the intellectual Jones. This would immediately set you down. There is anxiety of what his political chief is up to. He will be concerned about showing respect for authority. He does not show disagreement in public. He must be mannerly. There is a difference between those who have grown up and gone to school here.

Q. THERE ARE SO MANY NAMES FOR THIS GROUP, IS ONE TERM PREFERABLE TO THE OTHERS?

A. One must be careful to refer to people in the term agreeable to them. There are references to Negro, Colored or Black. In speaking of Mexicans you are even worse off - there are nine or ten different handles you can use as collective nouns. You don't use the same name in all areas. It all depends on the community. It has been suggested that "Americans with Spanish Surnames" be used.

Q. YOU HAVE VIEWED THE WAY IN WHICH SCHOOL DISTRICTS ARE TREATING WITH THE

SEVERAL MINORITY GROUPS. BY THESE ACTIONS, DO YOU BELIEVE, ARE WE TENDING TO CRYSTALIZE AN ETHNIC TYPE OF CIVILIZATION?

A. No, really, another thing is just as likely to happen if the U.S. and Mexico continue on their present course of feeding into California hundreds and thousands of Mexican poor. This is the policy now, in the form of wetbacks and these persons will have to start as this generation started.

I also think that the intensification of social tensions is going to rub out these differences. The militants are going to prove to the minority groups that they are going to have to rub out the ethnic lines.

There are 400,000 people who are not citizens and are registered as aliens residing in the U.S. There are many reasons for this. Among the older folks, they think they might go back. There is a cultural influence of not identifying themselves with the Anglos. The 30-40 age group in United States communities will have to be watched a little longer. They have not shared in our affluence. They are keeping an open door to their own land.

Q. HAS ANY THOUGHT BEEN GIVEN BY THE GOVERNMENT TO ACCEPTING THESE PERSONS LEGALLY?

A. This becomes more absorbing and involved than segregation. Sometimes the people sneak over to live with a relative. They get jobs. They become Americanized and catch on to the pattern of American life. This has become a totem pole of status. Next are the recent comers (10 years) who are comfortable and know how Americans do things. This is a large group but they are not leadership material.

There is the very new comer who has poor knowledge of English and has misgivings about getting jobs.

Of these layers of people the very young are an important factor.

In the second level, there is no wide spread leadership. Many have left the community. There has been a drift away from the community and away from leadership. Men and women with college education have been promoted to positions in Washington close to the throne of power. They have become directors of programs and become involved in administration, but the minute they do that they become handicapped in the community.

Q. YOU MENTIONED LEADERSHIP, ARE THERE NO MEXICAN-AMERICANS COMING FORWARD WHO CAN SPEAK FOR THEIR PEOPLE?

A. There are two or three people emerging now. The most important thing about these men is that it is a symbolic emergence. A mass of people are coming to the U.S. from a country having a different system. For perhaps a generation, 1910-35, the overwhelming bulk of Mexicans in this state had no political participation and they wanted to become a part of this process. They felt that if they could get just one man into the Senate or Assembly they would be on their way.

The election of these men fulfills this aspiration. But when a person goes into public office he can no longer act as an ethnic agent. The day to day operations are as a public servant. He is not in the community to sense its needs and demands. He cannot spend even half a day in the community. During the last three years, I have discovered a host of groups in East Los Angeles - each with different problems. For example, the Association of Home Owners who are intent upon saving their homes from urban renewal.

Some are interested in school problems and not all the problems in the different schools are the same. Some are interested in unemployment - some are interested in the poverty program - there is a long list. The public official cannot select and give each group the kind of guidance it needs to become a part of the community.

Q. EXACTLY WHAT KIND OF LEADERSHIP AND WHAT KIND OF ORGANIZATION WILL DO THE JOB IN THE COMMUNITY?

A. The work has not been done to organize and train leadership. In terms of leaderships it would not be good to have a (here a Spanish surnamed congressman and Board of Education member were named) act as community leaders. The community would be lulled into a sense of having someone to watch over them, but this is not so. People want spokesmen at the different hearings and they have no one. A spokesman would be loaded with responsibility. He would have to play a symbolic role more and more to become known as a leader of the Mexican-Americans. He would be looked to as one who knows everything, but he would not be able to deliver (labor votes, etc.). There must be someone who can really step into these conflicts that are boiling in the community, know the needs, and keep up with the problems. It shows the people it is possible to break through.

Giving due credit to these elected officials, the fact remains the word "leadership" cannot be used loosely as it is a hard job to organize the community so that it won't break up into many groups. The people must be informed - they must know how to participate in debates - they must learn. Until this happens you are going to have only symbolic leadership and chaos in the community. We must work in the community to help the people become competent and take part in the democratic process.

Q. HOW SHOULD THE ELECTED OFFICIAL OPERATE TO DO THE MOST GOOD FOR THE COMMUNITY?

A. The presence of a Congressman at meetings gives the community a sense of security. He picks up grievances and points of view and carries them back to the higher-ups. A political leader adds personal prestige to a meeting, but if he does not come to a meeting for a period of six months or so, then nothing happens. There is no one to make decisions. The people do not know where to find answers to the questions that arise. There is no understanding growing between meetings. No education of the people. In this case, the group is not safe from manipulation. The presence of some successful figure would give them assurance, for they must learn to cope with things that are destroying the community.

A man must be liberated from control, he should be equal to himself; equal to his potential.

Q. WHAT DO YOU SEE HAPPENING TO THE POTENTIAL LEADERSHIP IN EAST LOS ANGELES? WHERE DOES IT GO?

A. Communication is isolated in East Los Angeles. When people leave there it appears they do not come back to assume leadership. The community has for the last four years been going through a cycle. The schools have produced a new generation of high school and college graduates and these persons have continued on up the escalator. Should they have gone back and identified themselves as leaders? I am not one to say. This is the choice for them. A few came back to the community, but they did so at the expense of their former neighbors. The indigenous aide has been in the community for four years. He became the extension of social service. Here the problem takes on another dimension. The poverty programs have drawn very heavily on the Mexican activist. It has left the community bereft of their support.

It is hard to develop leadership now with the extremely virtuous and hard standards set by the people. The politician in the Mexican-American community has become skillful in manipulation. He will have to reckon with the gerrymander for they don't want the Mexican-American to have a voice in the House or in Sacramento.

Q. THERE ARE A NUMBER OF GROUPS IN EAST LOS ANGELES WHO HAVE TAKEN ADVANTAGE OF ETHNIC MEMORIES. HOW MUCH INFLUENCE DO YOU THINK THEY HAVE?

A. Numerically they are not large. The number of Mexicans who have made it through the schools and acquired some kind of status is perhaps one tenth of one percent. It is this group who are represented by the extreme nationalistic group who want to return California to the Mexican Republic.

When an issue arises, the Anglo community should go to the community to find out just what the problem is. Ninety-five percent of the people are aware of the problems but do not participate in the debates of the issues.

Q. I STILL THINK THAT IT IS TREMENDOUSLY DIFFICULT TO CHOOSE WHO YOU SHOULD TREAT WITH IN THAT COMMUNITY.

A. The schools are going to be faced with multiplicity of leadership for a long time. When you think you have a fair solution worked out with one group, another group will not agree. There should be someone to represent the principal - someone who is trained and knows what is going on in the community.

The grapevine is the best information system, for it is an honest way of carrying news. If the principal can show that he is beginning to get problems solved, attitudes in the community will be changed by way of the grapevine.

The principal can help a community meeting by helping the people learn the procedures of a meeting, or by helping them understand the laws of a problem. In this way a grievance cannot be exploited by so-called leaders. One of the troubles of the community is that it is being flooded with organizers. Thus far leaders have been of the academic or the savior type. You need people who are living in the community now. Hire those Mexican-Americans you can find now, and then start training the others.

Let me describe the ideal community organizer. He is:

1. One who understands the cultural and psychological character of the Mexican-American.
2. One whose primary loyalty is to the group organized. He should be a stocking horse of the schools.
3. One who is a person who is completely committed to American democracy.
4. One who should be able to give the people he is working with factual information and insight into problems.

At meetings, some times, a strange character turns up who wants to take over and then there begins a struggle between your assistant and the one who wants to manipulate. You do not permit manipulation. If you exercise this type of manipulation yourselves, you might as well not call yourselves community servants.

Q. DO YOU SEE ANY SIGN THAT A CASTRO TYPE SITUATION COULD DEVELOP IN EAST LOS ANGELES?

A. No, you cannot consider this as a Castro situation, but as a whole spectrum in the political field. The tensions are getting tighter. They are growing and the community has become the object of very keen interest on the part of partisan groups. Five million have now become a very vital factor in the political balance. Idealogically they are teetering with tension and whoever controls them gets the action.

Q. DO YOU SEE ANY SIGNIGICANCE OF ACTIONS IN SAN DIEGO COUNTY WHERE THE

MEXICAN-AMERICANS ARE SEEKING A COALITION WITH THE NEGROES?

A. This coalition has a small leadership, but great sway among the masses. It is a device to protect itself from overwhelming odds. It can be demolished by showing how fragile it is.

President Johnson postponed indefinitely the White House conference he promised the Mexican-American people. (1)

It is felt that some of the leaders should get off the circuit and spend more time in the neighborhoods finding out what is going on and reflecting the feelings of the community. The Anglo culture is in trouble - the same trouble the whole American Society is experiencing.

If you come up with a program of possible answers it means an additional load of work. The large amount of work is going to mean that it is going to fail. It would mean an additional two to three hours of work for the teacher each day. Community organization implies additional duties for the principals. You should try to get a training force to take some of the load away from him, if not, you are going to be ineffective.

Q. DR. GALARZA, LET ME COME BACK TO AN EARLIER DISCUSSION. WOULD YOU DEFINE EXACTLY HOW THE TIME WE ADMINISTRATORS HAVE AVAILABLE TO US COULD BEST BE USED IN THE SPANISH SURNAMED COMMUNITY?

A. The Kiwanis of Boyle are about 10% Mexican. At this point would I be doing a service to my own group or to them by making appearances before this

(1) Since Dr. Galarza made these remarks, two major conferences on the Mexican-American have been held:

1) Advisory Committee on Mexican-American Education, held at Tuscon, Arizona, October 22-25, and
2) Cabinet Committee hearings on Mexican-American Affairs, held at El Paso, Texas, October 26-28.

group? All of the time is needed in that group of contacts where there are real problems and tensions, rather than meeting social obligations. At the Kiwanis meetings you do not get face to face with the real problem. One must arbitrarily divide the time in the relationship between the principal to the community. His time should not be interferred with by too many social contacts and conflict situations. He can be overwhelmed by these. A person on his staff can be of help with regard to the emotional tension experienced when meeting with a group.

The assistant can bring in a grievance or a recommendation. You have to give the assistant status as an equal, then you can bridge the gap between school and community. He can bring in news that cannot be delivered any other way.

Establish an institution that the Mexican-Americans can trust. Their experiences have been full of grief and mistrust. Indirectly the school failed by not analyzing what was going on as the community grew and by not coming up with suggestions for reaching the people of the community.

Trust will grow when there is a contact with someone in authority who can discuss immediate problems without red tape. An accumulation of this experience is what is needed to clear up suspicion. The only alternative is to hire people who can tell the people you are trying to help .... convince them. Produce results and let the people judge for themselves.

Perhaps you could persuade Secretary Gardner to give aid to college graduates - this would increase your candidates for teaching jobs. You should take the initiative. Let the community know how you stand then, you can ask the Secretary why he turned this down. This is the way things are done today. I can think of a powerful coalition, administrators in league with teachers who are aligned with organized parents, with such a structure, there is nothing you cannot do.

Q. HOW DO YOU DEAL WITH A SPOKESMAN WHO CREATES PROBLEMS JUST SO THAT THERE WILL BE PROBLEMS? IT SEEMS THAT 90% OF OUR TIME IS SPENT WITH THIS TYPE OF SPOKESMAN.

A. Talk to the community - not to the so-called leadership. The churches are becoming extremely ineffective in solving problems, for they have made the people dependent on them. They have a few religious workers, but they have the same problems as the schools. Churches have political powers but are timid about using them. They know the problem but do not help by using this power.

The principal should have a bilingual assistant who could meet regularly with the community, not just for grievances.

When you identify a principal as one whose only function is to hear grievances, what else can he do? If he hears what the community is saying he can make suggestions out of his experiences.

Q. WE HAVE AN ENRICHMENT PROGRAM WHICH IS DESIGNED TO DEVELOP TALENT AND LEADERSHIP IN THE CHILDREN. WHEN PARENTS ARE ASKED TO SHOW UP AND SUPPORT THESE PROGRAMS, THEY DO NOT APPEAR. HOW DO WE GET THE PARENTS TO COME TO SCHOOL?

A. If I am a working man and I am invited to a fiesta...this is an event in which one usually dresses. Another thing.....the person will usually ask if they are "collecting" as these people are collected out of their wits. With these people, tradition is a heavy influence. A man does not go places with his wife. Leisure is spent with his men friends. The performance of the child is in itself opening up certain risks. What if something goes wrong?

Public conversations are conducted on the street corners, back yards, and the like. They are carried on in small groups of three or four. They do not like large groups where others might know what was said by the individual. These are some of the reasons why some of the Mexican-American parents have not learned the ways the Americans perform. They need communication, planning and know-how.

Q. COULD OUR ADULT SCHOOLS BRING THIS KIND OF KNOWLEDGE TO THEM?

A. I haven't found that the Adult Education services are adaptable to this type of work. They do not have staff people trained in this type of organization. It should not be the instrument of the school administrator, but people can be assigned to do this job. Those who are working in it are in a position to explore this area. If experience can be obtained there, the administrator need not be involved.

Q. PRESENT LEGISLATION MAKES IT PERMISSABLE TO TEACH IN A FOREIGN LANGUAGE. THE MEXICAN-AMERICAN COMMUNITY DOES NOT SEEM TO BE IN AGREEMENT AS TO WHETHER OR NOT THERE SHOULD BE INSTRUCTION OFFERED IN SPANISH. HOW DO YOU VIEW THIS TYPE OF INSTRUCTION?

A. There are differences of opinion in the community as to how this should be done. There are differences among the parents' groups and among specific groups that take an interest in education. I have heard adverse comments from some parents. There is no violent opposition-just questions as to the kind of teaching and the reasons. Those people who are indifferent to the teaching in Spanish or who have a negative opinion are not school people and do not have great mastery of Spanish themselves. Some think that the teaching of Spanish in the public schools would be a handicap to learning English. There has been no authoritive statement that this is so. This important change in the education has taken place with practically no discussion with the community itself. As a matter of fact it came as a surprise when people learned of Spanish instruction being offered. The first the parents heard of it was when they read it in the newspaper. This will not grow into a serious controversy. In families where Spanish remains the basic language, the people are glad that the schools are encouraging the use of Spanish and for the improvement of the Spanish which the young will speak. Some adults will be uncomfortable after the youngsters start to speak better Spanish then they do. The farther the people are removed from Mexican ancestry, the less interest they have in this matter. The people will not prevent or attack the teaching of Spanish.

This is of tremendous importance to the people of California. Not only are we attempting to give the child whose mother tongue is Spanish a better command of the language but we are opening the door for the English speaking child to become bilingual. The schools made a mistake by not telling the people what they were doing or explaining legislation under which they were working. This would have laid the groundwork for discussion with local neighborhood groups. People are not against teaching in Spanish, but there are internal problems of getting under way. The feeling of inadequacy of the people assigned to this program and the lack of materials are serious problems at the moment.

Q. IS THERE ANY RESEARCH GOING ON IN THE AREA OF BILINGUAL INSTRUCTION?

A. Experiments now going on with the Puerto Ricans are germane. Also, Mexico has a program of extension education in the rural areas among the Mexican Indians whose native tongues are multiple. The child's instruction begins in his native dialect, then moves in stages into Spanish. Compared to the Mexican problem which is to convert the Indian child into an understanding of Spanish the Spanish-English problem is more complex. There has been a good deal written in Spanish, but nothing in English.

There was a time when the Ministery of Education was under the direction of Presidents who did not believe in this approach. This was until the early revolutionary period. They wanted the Mexican people to go Spanish - they would send people into the rural areas and if the people didn't understand, it was just too bad. This system did not work. Now the teachers are learning to use Indian dialects and graduating the work into Spanish.

In American there are two basic purposes of such instruction. 1) To make it possible for the Mexican-American youngster to exploit his full potential as a bilungual and support the culture from which he comes. 2) For the youngster who knows very little English but only to the extent that this procedure would be advisable for him.

In this group shouldn't we narrow this down to those youngsters whose tongue is really Spanish? Much of our concern is about the Mexican-American who has been in our community four or five years and who is not achieving at the level that we would like him to achieve. He is not really a Spanish speaker in the sense of Spanish being his mother tongue. The type introduction to the monolingual is very necessary for it is a bridge over which he can reach competency in the English language. This should come later for the child of parents with Spanish surname, but who do not speak Spanish. He will come to understand that to study Spanish is to make him closer to the culture of his ancestors. The child who comes into the school with very little English suffers the shock of having people reject his native tongue. The results of this are bad. This one mold of human expression -

pride in the ability to use words - which when it is rejected stops him in his tracks and he is on his way to becoming a dropout.

Q. THERE HAS BEEN CONSIDERABLE CONTROVERSY CONCERNING THE PROGRAM FOR THE EDUCABLE MENTALLY RETARDED IN THE EAST LOS ANGELES SCHOOLS. ARE YOU AWARE OF ANY PROBLEMS IN THIS AREA?

A. Certainly, one of the more prominent issues in the Mexican-American community relates to the Mentally Retarded. A lot of the criticism is about the percentage of Mexican-American pupils in Mentally Retarded classes. The figure given was 23%(2) for the Los Angeles area. The feeling is that there could not be that many retarded children. At this rate the Mexican-American is going to pot at a fast rate. The impression is growing that "mentally retarded" as it shows up in the statistics is a kind of waste basket where many who have a normal capacity are being filed. In the American culture in general, there is a tendency in government and business to classify one not liked or with whom you cannot get along as being mentally retarded.

It may well be that in California we have accepted the concept of mental retardation without really being sure of what it means. There should be a clear definition. There should be a scientific basis for placement. These children need special assistance - the question is how do we help him? If you classify him as mentally retarded, it stays on his record for the rest of his life.

This label should not be placed on a person until he has been genetically and scientifically checked - and in this case you should have the best scientific help you can buy. Also, in dealing with his family you will

(2) The actual figure is 3.96% in the East Los Angeles Elementary Area.

have to help that family face the cruelty of the community. The community does not reject the handicapped but it makes life hard for him. They are not hospitable to the child who has this experience. The family needs moral support. This is not different from the average community. There is a stigma cast on the family of the mentally retarded child. The family has to be saved and protected from this kind of shock. I think in this area you are dealing with something quite complicated and sensitive, for mental retardation is closely connected to mental health in the community.

Where is the line drawn for mental illness - when is it mental retardation? Mental illness of our community is reflected by stages and becomes mental retardation.

Q. HOW ARE WE GOING TO CONVINCE PUBLISHERS THAT THEY SHOULD PRINT THE TYPES OF BOOKS WHICH ARE NEEDED TO TEACH THE MEXICAN-AMERICAN?

A. Work has been done with publishers which is directed toward getting adequate materials that meet the needs of the Negro population. The Great Cities Research Council has had great influence in the development of materials to meet this need. We are aware of the need of the Mexican-American but have not pushed it. We are ready now to push.

The publisher will develop materials if they will be used. We are not sure how large a market there will be outside of Los Angeles for the type of materials needed. The larger publishing houses may not go for the development of this material, but the smaller publishers will if they can sell 25,000 copies. They must have a large volume of sale. This must be attacked on two fronts. There must be books that can be understood and some of them must be in Spanish. The publishers must know that there will be an opportunity to secure a market for this type of material.

The Textbook Publishers Association has proved influential in convincing the publishers of the need for materials, and we are beginning to see results. We can now push for, and get, materials that can more adequately cover the needs of the Mexican-American. Other parts of the country will also need this type of material. The material does not necessarily have to be in English - it could be in Spanish. Some material will have to be more mature. It will be material for 1-7 graders in math and social studies.

Q. HOW CAN WE PRODUCE A GREATER COMMITTMENT TO EDUCATION AMONG THE MEXICAN-AMERICAN PUPILS?

A. Mr. Gardner, of Urban Renewal, says one of the real problems of young people is their unwillingness to risk failure. This applies to the Mexican community. Part of this is our fault. In giving tests that are unreal for their goals, pupils feel it is not worth it to risk failure. They are afraid of the results. The youngsters must learn to risk failure.

The only person who is afraid of the risk of failure is the person who has had a success. He knows what it is and when he faces a situation where he might not succeed he pulls back. This is not the situation with the Mexican children. A person who has always failed does not shrink because he may not succeed, for his is a life of continuing failure. They absorb failure and it becomes part of their nature. Where there is a drop back gap, you must look at the student's history, in the areas of speech and reading.

The reading problems in East Los Angeles are great. It can't be that these students are different or are they mentally retarded, even though they are in special classes. The trouble with reading is with the system and with the large classes. The materials are not adaptable. Out of ten Mexican students, three or four cannot be mentally retarded. Language is the problem. We have to start an oral language program.

Q. WHAT DO YOU SEE AS THE MAJOR PROBLEM FACING CALIFORNIA EDUCATORS AND WHAT OF THE FUTURE?

A. In Mexico, pressures on poor people are pushing them toward the border towns. There are 42 million people in this area now; there will be 50 million by 1970, and by 1980 there will be about 60 million. As the population grows, the border takes a large share, and these people are looking for work. They could jump the border illegally. Industry such as electronics and the garment makers is now gravitating toward the border. You can get a worker for $2 for 8 hours. There is a mass movement along the border with population and industry coming together. Industries hire the parents and the children are in the schools. They become transients. With the help of the United States government, another Hong Kong is being created. We must look beyond this to the things that are creating a squeeze on education. The schools have a duty to see farther than just the day to day problems.

How many come over daily to work and how many come into the schools? Community migration involves something over two hundred thousand people. This is only one segment of the labor market. There is also the segment of the bracero and the wetback.

What about the future? In the future, the next generation will be a brand new set of Mexican-Americans and these people will be the identified Mexican-Americans of 1980. They will be as different from their parents as their parents were from their parent's generation.

THANK YOU, DR. GALARZA.

Administrator's In-Depth Seminars In Problems Of Desegregation As They Relate To Large City Schools

Los Angeles City School Districts

SEMINAR NO. 5: SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION IN THE NEGRO GHETTO

The following is a summary of the discussion periods of Seminar No. 5 conducted for the superintendents of the Los Angeles City School Districts on November 2 and 3, 1967, by Mr. James Farmer.

Q. MR. FARMER, WE HAVE HEARD A GOOD DEAL ABOUT YOUR BEDFORD-STUYVESANT PROGRAM. COULD YOU GIVE US A FIRST HAND DISCRIPTION?

A. We are in the planning stage now. We are working in three areas; education, arts and communication. The education component is first. We are establishing a ghetto based college first, right in the ghetto of Brooklyn.

We hope to attract many youngsters as well as older people who could not get into other colleges in the city - those who had an average of below 80 or no high school diploma. We will try to bring them up to standard. The student will work part time in a job the college will get for him and it should be a job that relates to his studies. The program will involve all the people who live with him. The parents must become enrolled in an Adult School Education program.

We are getting community in-put from the various organizations in the community, and are looking toward setting up a skeleton of a Board of Trustees . This will be composed of those who live or work in Bedford-Stuyvesant area. They will supervise getting a charter from the city and other details. We hope to start in September of 1968 or no later than 1969. The students will learn the history of black America, the culture, arts, dance and so forth. Pupils will gain identity and know who they are. The campus could be in the street.....we want to avoid the usual spread between uptown and downtown, so that the community will feel that this college belongs to them. Classes will be held in the facilities at the college or any place else. Perhaps they will want to hold classes in the street, park ... or in the bar.... There are several possibilities. We would like to take over commercial buildings in the neighborhood and adapt them to our use rather than build new buildings. It may not be financially feasible, but we will try to purchase existing buildings.

Q. HOW DO YOU PLAN TO STAFF YOUR NEW COLLEGE?

A. If we have all blacks, we will be criticized. I want to see it integrated. We will have to find a majority of Blacks, however, for we can survive if we take that position.

Q. WHAT WILL BE THE FORMAT FOR INSTRUCTION AT THE COLLEGE?

A. We want the student to work part of the day and spend part of the day in classes. We want the work to be part of the classes.

Q. WHAT KIND OF JOBS DO YOU SEE WHICH WILL ALLOW FOR ADEQUATE SUPERVISION OF STUDENTS?

A. We have talked to some of the banks and they are interested, also some of the insurance companies are interested. They will assign a person to supervise the intern. Through testing we can help people find themselves.

Q. YOU DIDN'T MENTION THE UNIONS. WHAT KIND OF COOPERATION ARE YOU GOING TO GET FROM THEM?

A. The building trades will not work with us. In the craft unions things are still very bad. In the building trades they are bad. In Watts, the rebuilding was done by white labor. If this work is to be done by all white labor, these buildings will be the first to come down.

Q. WILL YOU BE TRAINING PERSONS TO WORK IN THE GHETTO SCHOOLS?

A. We are working on that too. We will have a strong teacher education, which prepares people to teach in the ghetto.

Q. MR. FARMER, DO YOU PLAN TO ENCOURAGE CAUCASIANS TO ATTEND THE SCHOOL?

A. There should be white students and we will get some of the Peace Corps and Vista people; however, we should concentrate on those in the ghetto.

Q. WHAT ABOUT THOSE WHO ARE NOT ACTIVISTS, WILL THEY WANT TO ATTEND AS WELL?

A. We are trying to arrange that now. First we have to determine the criteria to select five people for the Board of Trustees. They can later expand up to about 30, if they wish. They must have connection with the community. We are steering away from people who sit on all sorts of boards. We would like to get Bishop Washington of the Church of God in Christ, Holiness Church. His people are rank and file, lower and middle class. They are working people. We think he would be our link to that community; from the militant - Robert Carson; finally business and professional men's groups from the Bedford-Stuyvesant Area.

Q. NOW, YOU ARE TAKING A COLLEGE TO THE PEOPLE OF A GHETTO, WE ARE CHARGED WITH GETTING THEM OUT.

A. After the Supreme Court ruling on school desegregation there was a rather simplistic idea of desegregation. People thought the ghettos would disappear. When Randolph proposed setting up a Negro labor council, he was shot down. The assumption was that Negroes as a group would cease existing. There was roughly 1 to 10 ration. Some of the liberal white students asked why the Negroes still stayed among themselves - didn't they want desegregation - this after they saw two Negroes together in the cafeteria.

The ghettos are going to be with us even though we have open occupancy in housing. People will choose to remain in the ghetto, because either they grew up there or they don't have money to move elsewhere. Those communities will then be ethnic communities - voluntary ethnic communities. We must recognize that this community is going to remain with us and we better up-grade the community. We have the fact that even if we could achieve the maximum of integration there are not enough whites whom to integrate.

There is a two-way thrust - achieve as much integration as we can, but recognize that the kids are going to continue to go to schools that are homogenous. We must improve the quality of schools that exist. Improve the study of Negro history, art, and the like. It is not a debate for militants and moderates; it is ethnic dispersal or ethnic cohesiveness. We must learn about ourselves, to study our history, culture, and development, as this is a prerequisite to ethnic cohesiveness.

Q. THERE IS A SINCERE EFFORT ON THE PART OF THIS DISTRICT TO DEVELOP MINORITY LEADERSHIP IN THE SCHOOLS, HOWEVER FEW SUCH PERSONS TAKE THE EXAMINATIONS AND FEWER STILL HAVE THE CREDENTIALS. AS A RESULT WE ARE HAVING TO PUSH MINORITY PEOPLE INTO ADMINISTRATIVE POSITIONS.

A. It is hard to get those credentials because they have not been open to Black people. In CORE, if each officer was elected on experience and credentials they would have had all white officers. The Whites should back a black without a credential - put a Black in the spot and have someone with a credential work with him.

Q. THIS IS FINE FOR CORE, BUT WOULD YOU TAKE THE SAME POSITION SO FAR AS SELECTIVE PERSONNEL IN INDUSTRY OR AS SCHOOL PRINCIPALS?

A. Take industry; this is a debatable point. Because of the discrimination of the past, it is necessary to take the minority person and give him a push. You can't make the back wheels of a car go faster than the front. It would be the same as when you give the veteran a push by giving him extra points. If a company, in its 100 years of existance, had never had a Negro above a menail job, and then had an opening of a good position where there were two applicants - one white and one Black, who had the same qualifications, this should be a feature in behalf of the Negro.

Q. YOU ARE SUGGESTING THAT SCHOOL DISTRICTS DO AWAY WITH THE MERIT SYSTEM, WHAT WOULD BE THE CONSEQUENCES IF THIS IS NOT DONE?

A. I can emphasize that there is a strong and growing sentiment that the education of the kids is the most important thing. It looms far more important to the grass roots people than jobs and housing. If we don't become alive and sensitive to this, there will be much more turmoil.

Q. AREN'T THERE ALTERNATIVES?

A. I see none. Nothing in between. There is a demand for decentralized Boards of Education. They are welcoming that. These boards should have the authority to select principals and teachers.

Q. OVER THE PAST FEW YEARS WE HAVE TRIED TO DISPERSE OUR STAFF. NOW THE SITUATION SEEMS TO HAVE REVERSED ITSELF AND THERE IS A CALL FOR NEGRO PRINCIPALS IN PREDOMINANTLY NEGRO SCHOOLS.

A. There is insistance for Black principals, because parents feel that their children have no leadership model. There should be such a model, so children can grow up to think that they to could lead and have responsibility. The parents were right. It is important that, in a model school in the heart of the ghetto, the principal should be a Negro.

Q. IF THERE IS A CHOICE BETWEEN A NEGRO AND A WHITE, AND THE WHITE IS MORE CAPABLE, WOULD YOU STILL HOLD THAT THE NEGRO SHOULD GET THE POSITION.

A. The fact that he is a Negro who will work in the heart of the ghetto must be added to his credit since he has communication and rapport, and is able to deal with the children.

Q. YOU ARE SUGGESTING THAT A NEGRO WHO IS WORKING IN A NEGRO COMMUNITY WILL HAVE BETTER RAPPORT. WHAT IF A WHITE IS MORE SUCCESSFUL IN THE NEGRO COMMUNITY?

A. I know that there are exceptions. Ten years ago you could not have done this. In a community made up largely of Negroes from the South, a White person would be better. Among those who have been around for a while, you have more ethnic cohesiveness. The Negro community needs the image of success. Then the youth could look forward to being something a lot better than a garbage collector.

Q. BUT WHEN A DISTRICT ASSIGNS TOO MANY NEGROES TO A PARTICULAR AREA, IT IS ACCUSED OF PRACTICING DISCRIMINATION.

A. The whole American culture robs the Negro children of self-esteem and must be changed now. In most of our cities, the textbooks depict a sterotyped Negro. The picture the child gets of the Negro is a slow moving person, with bulging eyes, picking cotton. Even college people do not know that hundreds of colored people fought on the side of the North in the Civil War. With the image given, how can the Negro have esteem or pride?

The Negro child must have a successful image, and it must be a male image. The family is largely matriarchal, because the man has usually been unemployed. The child needs to see Black males who are leaders, otherwise he will never believe he can do it.

In Africa this problem has come up. It is hard to convince the African that he can succeed because the technical jobs have always been done by whites.

Q. MR. FARMER, IN MY SCHOOL, WHICH IS IN THE GHETTO, WE ARE EXPERIENCING SO MUCH HOSTILITY ON THE PART OF PARENTS AND PUPILS THAT IT IS BECOMING DIFFICULT FOR THE TEACHERS TO TEACH. HOW CAN WE OFFER A QUALITY EDUCATION WHEN THE PUPILS RESIST LEARNING?

A. There must be communication. It is hard for people who have been unaccustomed to talking to people like yourselves. The people do not understand how to talk to you. They will tell you off and be blunt.

Q. ON TOP OF THIS, WE ARE HAVING A GREAT DEAL OF TROUBLE WITH OUTSIDERS WHO HANG AROUND THE SCHOOL.

A. True, teachers have a challenge. The poor people have sensitive antennas - they know who is for real and who is not. Teachers should be required to learn the home style. See if they have eight or ten kids screaming at each other. Teachers can learn about the home life if they make the effort.

Organize the welfare recipients. At one time the real poor were invisible - now they are finding a voice and from them you will find a leader.

The school and the community have the responsibility, but the school has the higher level of intelligence and should be required to take the first step.

Q. HOW WOULD YOU GO ABOUT ATTRACTING EXPERIENCED, FIRST RATE TEACHERS TO GHETTO SCHOOLS?

A. Improve the schools. Put emphasis on good housing such as condominiums. It may attract people to the ghetto schools.

Because of the harrassment some of the teachers are experiencing, it is hard to attract teachers to these schools.

Colleges should teach teachers how to get along with the culturally deprived. Teachers should be motivated, perhaps receiving additional pay. Peace Corps workers get their reward from the people they are working with, but the teachers say there is no reward for them from the community. However, these tensions will work themselves out. We can integrate, but we must remember that the ghetto will continue. We will continue to have some of both. Some Negroes will be living in the suburbs and continue to integrate white communities, but the bulk will still be living in ghettos. I think that the state would be in error by issuing guidelines and mandates.

Q. OUR ATHLETICS PROGRAM IS INTEGRATED AND WE HAVE HAD INSTANCES OF VIOLENCE IN BOTH BLACK AND WHITE COMMUNITIES. ARE WE TO EXPECT THAT THIS WILL CONTINUE?

A. You have to expect to be pushed around. The first reaction will be, what's in it for him? Suspicion will go on for a long time. In time you will overcome this. They will get used to you and come to accept you, if you deal with them on equal terms, and not in a patronizing manner. These people have had to learn how to survive and to learn whether a person is for real or not. It is difficult, but it is possible.

Q. IF YOU WERE A PRINCIPAL IN A GHETTO SCHOOL, WHAT STEPS WOULD YOU TAKE TO IMPLEMENT THE SUGGESTIONS YOU MADE TONIGHT? FOR EXAMPLE, WOULD YOU FORM COMMUNITY ADVISORY GROUPS, AND IF YOU DID, WOULD YOU TAKE THEIR RECOMMENDATIONS?

A. Yes, I would set up Advisory Committees including parents, and others in the community, those who had interests. Unless their recommendations were not clear contradictions to sound education methods, I would bend over backwards to try to implement them. It is very important to have parents involved in the education of their children. The new interest in the education of their children is a major factor. Until recently, they were afraid of teachers because they represented officialdom. In the South this was used to further oppression. They were afraid of this and stayed away and would not go into the schools. Now they want to get into the schools. This should be developed and made a really constructive force. In Roxbury, children were pushed by their parents to do their homework and their achievement improved. They got an interest in new things and the parents began to be interested too. The involvement of the parents will improve the achievement of the children.

More Teacher Aides should be used. They should be those who are indigenous to the community. People who have relevance and relatability to the children in both ghetto language and downtown English.

Bring in more ethnic materials. When the kids are learning about themselves they learn more readily. If you introduce ethnic materials, you will find it much easier for the child to learn. A good deal of learning is learning about oneself and his relationship to the community. Learn about the community. Visit the community - go into the homes. Learn it and feel it. Walk in the streets. Go where the people go. Join them in the pool halls ... the barber shops ... get the feeling of the life style.

Q. DO YOU BELIEVE THAT THE STAFF SHOULD LIVE IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD WHERE A SCHOOL IS LOCATED?

A. It could be an advantage - it is not so much where one lives, but what one does, but it must be related to the community. You can live far away yet relate to the community.

Q. MANY CAUCASIANS SEEM TO HAVE TROUBLE COMMUNICATING WITH PEOPLE IN THE NEGRO GHETTOS. DO YOU HAVE ANY SUGGESTIONS?

A. Be yourself, but try to learn the language of the ghetto and understand their frame of reference. Bilinguality should be taught to people so that they can later work with the community. Yet putting ghetto language into books might make the people think we are looking down to them.

I think there is some value to keeping the language. There is an advantage to knowing both ghetto talk and downtown English. There is advantage to preserving things in a culture that are indigenous. Some of the Negroes of the ghettos are talking of preparing some of the "soul" foods and going into business and selling these foods.

There is a tendency to want to forget about the spirituals and jazz which reminded the people of slavery. Today they are singing spirituals and jazz which reminded the people of slavery. Today they are singing spirituals in contemporary form, but it depends on the church. Most are really singing the gospel songs and spirituals. There is now a tendency to wear the hair natural. Some think of kinky hair as bad, and straight hair as good hair. Developing pride is still comparatively new, so if you used their idioms there would still be objections to it.

Q. LET ME ASK YOU THIS. WHAT ABOUT THE BEHAVIOR OF CERTAIN NEGROES? WHEN THEY COME IN TO SEE US THEY ARE LOUD AND AGGRESSIVE. ARE THEY PLAYING GAMES WITH US?

A. Some are obviously playing games. At one time, people would say what they thought the others wanted to hear - now they say just the opposite. Now they are challenging, but you can believe that there is genuine interest in education of their children.

Q. BASICALLY THIS HAS BEEN A RELIGIOUS COUNTRY AND THE NEGRO WAS CONSIDERED TO BE RELIGIOUS. HOW DOES THIS SQUARE WITH THE VIOLENCE AND RIOTS IN THE CITIES?

A. In the south, the Negro church has been a major institution. Life centered around the church. It was the only institution that had a structure - a building. Life reverberated around the church, but not so in the North. The youth there are not going to church. They feel it is not relevent - they go elsewhere. That's why the riots have been more widespread in the north - lack of ties with the church.

Martin L. King appeals to those in the South. In the ghetto of the North, the non-violence idea is ignored.

During the riots, when the lights blacked out, we tried to get people off the streets. It worked with adults, but not with youths, the 16 to 21 age group. They stopped in front of CORE. In mingling with the crowd, I found out that they were planning to raid the CORE office. I finally got them to listen to me. We tried to turn the riot into a march figuring to walk them until they got tired. The police panicked, however, and started shooting and the riot was on again. In the Watts riot, there was nothing we could do. Non-violence has no impact on the youth of today. Martin King used the phrase "redemptive power of love." I believe that was the wrong statement.

Q. MR. FARMER, WE HAVE HEARD A GREAT DEAL CONCERNING YOUR LITERACY PROGRAM. WOULD YOU TELL US ABOUT IT?

A. Shortly after Mr. Kennedy was assassinated, I spoke with President Johnson and told him of my concern that although there had been some victories toward equal opportunity, millions of people were exactly where they were before because they were illiterate and literacy is a way of getting employed. Most Americans have not seen illiteracy as an American problem.

People assumed that there was no illiteracy in America -- that it was unheard of in America. If an American could not read, it was probably because he was first generation or an immigrant. Those of us who read, deal with people as though they are all readers.

When I was a trade union organizer, we set up a shop steward system. One of the stewards came up and said he had grievances - then told what happened to an employee. We reminded him that he had grievance forms he could fill out, and he said he would take care of it. He made excuses why the form was not sent in and it was about a month later that we discovered that he could not read or write.

It is not unusual for a teacher to come across a student in high school who cannot read. This might account for some insolent behavior on the part of students who are covering up for the fact that he is not reading or understanding. You'll find that some of the senior high school girls are not following instructions because they cannot read.

If a person cannot read above the 8th grade level, he is considered functionally illiterate. It is estimated that there are over one million adults who cannot read at that level.

A program is now being implemented on a small scale, originally calling for 28 pilot programs over a period of 3 years. It is to be tied in with job training, using programmed instructional materials to teach people how to read. We found through experimentation that non-professional instructors can be extremely useful in dealing with a reading problem. Pilot literacy studies in three states compared the effectiveness of three levels; certificated; college graduates without teacher training; and high school graduates. The conclusion was that the non-professional performed better than the others. There was greater rapport, and he understood the student better. On the whole, the three categories were able to elevate pupils roughly one grade level per each 100 hours of instruction.

There are nearly two million illiterate people on the national level, and about 20 million who are functionally illiterate, we do not know the exact number. These are the unemployed. MDTA showed that many of the recruits could not read the instruction manuals and did not understand the instructions. The functionally illiterate group is not all black - there are some Mexican-Americans, some Indians, and some poor whites who do not read.

I don't know if there has been any plan to eliminate this. The few Adult Education classes have been small, inadequate and ineffective. They could tell us that 15,000 were in the Adult Basic Education Classes, but they could not tell us how many were improved or how much and in what period of time. There were no tests. There was no relevance to the teaching. They had been using materials suitable for elementary school age pupils. Today, they are now experimenting with adult teaching needs and materials.

In Los Angeles it is different, material is put out that appeals to adults, the end product affords extensive testing, step by step. You bring the group step by step, but only after proficiency examinations. A good deal more needs to be done. One of the problems was to get the public off the streets, so some classes are held in industrial set-ups where these people feel comfortable.

Q. THIS MAY SOUND LIKE A WEIRD QUESTION MR. FARMER, BUT WHY ARE THERE SO FEW NEGRO HIPPIES?

A. There are a few who just mingle with the others. The hippie and the Black militant spring from the same roots. They have the same rejections of values, and both drop out of society. The New Left tries to change the values for society. Black militancy fundamentally agrees with this, but they add "Blackness". To them it is the White society that is corrupt. There is no possibility of the three groups merging. They asked to have me sign forms urging people to merge their cause. I refused. Such a cause could not possibly succeed. There was no coalition - it was a flop. Can you imagine a RAM member, or an US member, merging with a Quaker? This is total contradiction.

Q. DO YOU SEE THE POSSIBILITY OF A COMMUNIST TAKE-OVER OF THESE GROUPS?

A. A year and a half ago the Progressive Labor movement was very small and had almost no membership in the black community. In the past year they have grown. The RAM group was started by Robert Williams of NAACP in North Carolina but he was kicked out. He skipped out to Havana and then showed up in Peking and there started attacking Castro.

I don't think the Muslims killed Malcolm X. The major factor of the black muslims is not Maoist. They have many in-roads but do not control. The Muslims have gone in for pomp and ceremony. They are not religious. They put on a uniform and this becomes symbolic. It gives them exoticism and mystery. This should not be confused with the real Kenyatta. He is still a good man. I don't consider them dangerous. They are not going to start an explosion even though the men are armed and know karate. They are trained and well disciplined.

There is an academic discussion between the Jew and non-militant groups. This is a general observation. Many of the more militant groups were taking the part of the Arab, but now that feeling is diminishing. The militants tend to be pro-Arab because of Malcolm X and because there is Arab identification. CORE wanted to pass a resolution condemning both the war in Vietnam and Israel, but finally passed the resolution about Vietnam and said nothing about Israel.

Q. WON'T THIS MILITANT POSTURE DRIVE THE LIBERAL WHITE MONEY OUT OF THE MOVEMENT?

A. The funds must come from the black community - it is a weakness to get funds outside the black community.

Q. BUT WILL THE FINANCIALLY SUCCESSFUL NEGROES POUR MONEY INTO THE CAUSE?

A. They are doing it more and more now, but putting it into the liberal movements. They want the money to go toward education. They express sympathy with the movement privately but not publicly. They will not give to SNICK, as Brown and Stokely are too far out for them. The so-called moderate civil rights groups lack the appeal of the grass roots of the ghetto and the credibility of kids in the ghetto. The New York Urban League started street academies. They are the same as Black prep schools. It may work out that there will be sizeable numbers of them. This is something constructive.

Q. I'VE HEARD NEGROES SAY THAT THEY ARE, "NEGROES FIRST, AND AMERICANS SECOND", JUST WHAT DO THEY MEAN BY THIS?

A. There is a small segment which believes they are Negroes first and then Americans. There are others who say they are Afro-Americans, which shows that they are hyphenated Americans. There are others who consider themselves Americans first and Negroes second. The last category is still the majority; the Afro-Americans are next, and the segregationists are the smallest group.

Q. HOW DO THE YOUNGER MILITANTS FEEL ABOUT THIS? YOU WORK WITH MANY YOUNG PEOPLE?

A. At Lincoln University, instead of 3 hours, I sat for six or seven hours with the militants who congregate in my class. I listened and learned a great deal. They feel the Civil Rights movement has failed. It has provided more mobility for the upper and middle classes, but done nothing for the others. They said we have been going about it in the wrong way.

They don't think you can play it by the rules, and if you do then the whites will change the rules. Look at the Stokes election - look at the power structure. He missed by a few votes so they will change the rules. They mentioned Dirksen and the 2/3 vote, changing of rules again. The militants think they must make up their own rules. They say the most important thing is to get control of the ghettos. They spend money as consumers, but are not producers. The balance of payments is terrible.

Q. JUST HOW DO THEY PLAN TO GET CONTROL?

A. Do it the way the Italians did. We will organize a Black Mafia. They think it is better to die like men than live like dogs.

Stokely knows he couldn't possibly win. He was consciously playing the role of the devil's advocate. He's travelled in Cuba, Hanoi, and the Middle East trying to get aid, comfort and funds for his movement. The funds stopped in June 1966 for Black Power. They had been coming from white liberal forces. Getting more Negroes into the suburbs by promising more jobs for them there is not good politically, for in spreading out, it would be difficult to get a Negro politician elected.

The liberals cannot understand this change in attitude. They feel they have given so much for the movement and now they are witnessing people saying they do not need them anymore. The Negroes want to accept Negro leadership.

Because of the Negro vote, many politicians are getting more interested in education now. It is a question of whether they are going to participate in a knowledgeable way. Now these people are bursting with existence and they have found a voice, and want to participate. They are not going to lapse again into invisibility. There is a lack of knowledge, but people want to participate. They want to know how things are done. They want to know how procedures are carried out.

Q. COULD YOU TAKE THE TIME TO GIVE US A KIND OF OVERVIEW, A WHERE WE STAND NOW STATEMENT?

A. The victories won in the Civil Rights movement were largely victories confined to the South. They were chiefly victories for the middle class, not victories for those who have little education and little money. We have succeeded in providing upward mobility for some. The top half of a college graduating class has jobs offered to them, but for every Negro allowed now into a skill position, about 100 are pushed out the back door. There is a large gap in income and it is widening each year. The income of the middle class edges up, but the income of those who are down stays down.

There is now a growing identification of the college Negro with his ghetto brother. They are identifying with the feelings of the ghetto. There is a growing tendency to go into the ghetto instead of accepting other job offers. The youth are moving toward a rejection of involvement in the main stream. Let me point to residential residentals in the United States. In cities where the Negroes move into a neighborhood and settle, the whites will move out. We have more defacto segregation. The Board of Education of New York says there is more segregation now than there was five years ago.

The steps taken have slowed the rate of increase. You are running up and down the escalator. The young militant rejects the concept of integration. They say they will run things their own way. This is the swing of the pendulum. In 1954, many people thought the fight was almost over. The general assumption was that in a few years the ghettos were going to disappear. In those years anyone who suggested improving housing, jobs, schools, would have been shot down as an Uncle Tom, as was Philip Randolph, the American Negro who started the American Negro Labor Council. The ghetto is going to be with us for a long time, even after there is open occupancy of housing. Many Negroes will choose to live in ghettos because of memories, roots, friends; and some because they don't have the capital to go elsewhere. We'd better try to improve the life and the schools at the same time as we try to achieve the maximum of desegregation. We must recognize there is nothing wrong with ethnic cohesion, America has always been ethnically monolithic. It is necessary for the survival of people to assert themselves. The Negro American has become hyphenated and you have to discover the hyphen in order to lose it.

The Coleman group showed that the achievement gap widens between 1st and 12th grades. You cannot have an appreciable improvement in achievement unless you integrate. Integration is in itself an education system for teaching children to live with and study with and learn about others. We must reject the view of national inferiority and learn to live with people.

You have more high achievers in model schools. In the Roxbury area, parents paid the way for children to get to these schools. The achievement of these kids has gone up remarkably. For some of these children it was the first time they had gotten any conception of the city or the outside world. The first time to see the city, the stores and houses with flowers and trees in front of them. Parents took an interest and made sure that the kids did their homework. But school does not have to have low achievement just because it is Black.

Q. MR. FARMER, COULD WE YOUR DEFINITION OF "INTEGRATION"?

A. Integration is the thing that we seek as the ultimate in America - it is a society where an American citizen can be proud of himself and the people who grow out of the same subculture as himself. He can be proud of his contributions to the nation. He can be proud and be an equal partner in America. He must have tne right to live anywhere he wants, even if it is in the ghetto, it must be his right. He should be judged by the same yardstick as others: in employment, in schools, and every aspect of the national life, and this does not mean the loss of ones' identity.

THANK YOU, MR. FARMER.